





CHRISTIAN WORSHIP:

ITS PRINCIPLES AND FORMS.

BY

REV. J. W. RICHARD, D. D., LL. D.,

*Professor of Homiletics and Ecclesiastical Theology in the Theological
Seminary at Gettysburg,*

AND

REV. F. V. N. PAINTER, D. D.,

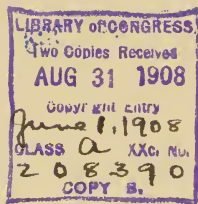
Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in Roanoke College.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

PHILADELPHIA :
LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1888

BV5
.R5
1908



COPYRIGHT, 1892,
BY
J. W. RICHARD.

COPYRIGHT, 1908,
BY THE
LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

PREFACE.

It is hoped that the present work will be found to supply a want in our theological literature. So far as is known to the authors, there is no work in English that covers the same ground. Yet the interest in liturgics at the present time seems to demand a work treating of the principles and forms of worship in different ages of the Church. Without this general survey of the field, there can hardly be a thoroughly intelligent discussion of liturgical questions. It is believed that the subject as treated in the present volume will be found not only of special interest but also of practical importance.

The work is so arranged as to make, in convenient, summary form, a history of worship. In German, so rich in every department of theological literature, the subject has been frequently and ably treated. With the leading German authorities in hand, to many of which reference is made in this work, there is embarrassment from the abundance of materials. While following in the main the general outline of German histories of worship, the present work differs from them in the omission of unimportant details, in the fullness with which a number of typical liturgies are given, and in the relative prominence assigned to worship in the Lutheran Church. The authors have been less anxious to bring forward their own opinions than to furnish the means by which others might be enabled to form independent and trustworthy judgments.

The Introduction discusses the nature of worship in general, exhibits its fundamental principles as laid down in the New Testament, and seeks to determine the proper criteria

for judging and constructing orders of worship. This study prepares the way for an intelligent perusal and judgment of the principles and forms of worship set forth in the chapters that follow.

The first five chapters are devoted to the era before the Reformation. They treat of worship in the Apostolic Church, and in post-Apostolic and mediæval times. The influences that corrupted worship and introduced an imposing externalism are clearly pointed out. The facts have been given with as much fullness as the plan of the work would admit, and the effort has been made to describe and characterize justly the worship of each period. A careful study has been made of worship in the Greek Church and the Roman Catholic Church; and in addition to the exposition of principles, a typical Eastern liturgy, that of St. Chrysostom, and the Roman Mass, have been given in full. An acquaintance with these liturgies is a necessary preparation for the study of the liturgical forms adopted by the Protestant Church in the sixteenth century.

Much prominence has been given to the principles and forms of worship in the Lutheran Church. The great Reformation of the sixteenth century was not only a purification of doctrine, but also a purification of worship. In worship as in doctrine, the reformers sought to lead men back to the principles of the New Testament. These principles are fully and repeatedly stated in Luther's liturgical writings, which are here brought together for the first time in an English translation. These writings should be studied by all persons who would understand not only Lutheran, but also Protestant worship, since they present with great clearness and in reiterated statement three principles lying at the foundation of all evangelical worship, namely: That preaching and teaching the divine Word is the center of worship; that worship is not a meritorious act by which men obtain the grace of God; and that forms of worship must be adapted to times and circumstances, since uniformity of ceremonies is no proper mark of the unity of the Church. In addition

to the liturgical writings of Luther, several great typical Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century are presented in a literal translation. The person who makes himself acquainted with these forms virtually knows all the forms of worship used in the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The chapters on worship in the Reformed Church, in which the liturgies of Zwingli, Calvin and Knox are given, present matter of special interest. The difference between worship in the Reformed Church and worship in the Lutheran Church is clearly indicated. But these chapters have not been written in a polemical spirit. While it is but just to both Churches that the difference in worship should be fully and fairly stated, the points of agreement are found to be far more numerous and far more important. Both Churches regard the Word and sacraments as means of grace, and make the preaching and teaching of the Word the central factor in ordinary public worship. The chief difference lies in the emphasis placed on the subjective and the objective elements of worship.

The last two chapters—"The Word in Relation to the Other Means of Grace," and "The Ministry in Relation to Worship"—treat important subjects, which have not elsewhere been adequately discussed. They are contributed upon special request by the Rev. M. Valentine, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Didactic Theology in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. They exhibit in every paragraph the diligent research, logical arrangement, and thoughtful expression that distinguish all the writings of their author. For this substantial assistance and for many valuable suggestions, cordial acknowledgment is here made.

It only remains to be stated that the authors have worked together in entire harmony, and that they share alike the responsibility for the contents of the book. So thoroughly were the views of each known to the other, and so complete was the agreement, that no difficulty was experienced in arranging the plan of the work or in executing its details.

While each author has retained his individuality of style and treatment, he has read and cordially approved the work of the other. May the result of their joint labors have some influence in promoting a truly evangelical worship.

J. W. RICHARD,
F. V. N. PAINTER.

September 1, 1892.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this second edition of *CHRISTIAN WORSHIP*, revised, a few typographical errors that had escaped notice in the first edition have been corrected, here and there a verbal change has been made, and in three places additional historical matter has been introduced. No change whatever has been made in the substance or sentiment of the book.

J. W. R.
F. V. N. P.

August 5, 1908.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER I.	
WORSHIP IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH	35
CHAPTER II.	
WORSHIP IN THE AGE OF CONSTANTINE	48
CHAPTER III.	
WORSHIP IN THE EASTERN CHURCH	61
CHAPTER IV.	
WORSHIP IN THE WESTERN CHURCH	96
CHAPTER V.	
WORSHIP IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH	114
CHAPTER VI.	
THE LUTHERAN RENOVATION OF WORSHIP	143
CHAPTER VII.	
LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS	159
CHAPTER VIII.	
THE PRINCIPLES OF EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN WORSHIP	203
CHAPTER IX.	
FORMS OF LUTHERAN WORSHIP	223

CHAPTER X.

	PAGE
ANALYSIS AND EXPOSITION OF THE LUTHERAN CHIEF SERVICE	253

CHAPTER XI.

THE MORNING AND EVENING SERVICES	271
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

WORSHIP IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES	276
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

FORMS OF WORSHIP IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES	286
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

RECENT LITURGICAL MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES	305
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

THE WORD IN RELATION TO THE OTHER MEANS OF GRACE	328
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MINISTRY IN RELATION TO WORSHIP	344
---	-----

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Worship may be regarded as an instinct. It is the result of man's natural endowments and of his surroundings. It is not the invention of priestcraft or the product of material evolution. Man has a spiritual nature; that is, the power to conceive of a Deity and a supernatural world, and the capacity to adore, love and trust. In the course of his mental development these powers start spontaneously into action. By several different paths the mind is led to the idea of God. Behind the mutable objects of nature, the understanding seeks and finds an unchanging ground; and in the presence of obvious design, it recognizes an intelligent Creator. Conscious of its weakness in the midst of mighty and mysterious forces, the heart seeks refuge and rest in an over-ruling and loving Father. The feeling for beauty and sublimity, for truth and righteousness, finds satisfaction in the perfections of God. The imperfections of this world—its inequalities, sufferings and failures—show that it is not complete in itself, and hence lead to the conception of another and higher life, in which justice, happiness and perfection alone prevail.

With the idea of God and a future life in the soul, worship is inevitable. It naturally springs out of the relation between creature and Creator. In the words of Richter, "Without God the human soul is lonely throughout eternity; but if it has God, then it is united more warmly, more intimately, more steadfastly, than by friendship and love. I am then no longer alone with my soul. Its great first Friend, the Ever-

lasting whom it recognizes, the innate Friend of the innermost spirit, will no more abandon us than we will abandon ourselves; and in the midst of the impure or empty turmoil of trifles and sins, on the market-place and the battle-field, I stand with closed breast, in which the Supreme and All-holy One speaks to me, and reposes before me like a near sun, behind which the outer world lies in darkness." * In the refusal of a soul to look up with adoration to the Creator and Preserver of all things, we recognize something monstrous. It is not strange that we find worship prevailing among all peoples. The idea of God may be very obscure or perverted; the forms of worship may be low and repulsive; but the impulse and capacity are there. Let us listen to the words of a heathen writer, whose wisdom gave dignity to a life of slavery: "Any one thing in creation is sufficient to demonstrate a providence to a humble and grateful mind. If we had any understanding, ought we not, both in public and private, incessantly to sing and praise the Deity, and rehearse his benefits? Ought we not, whether we dig, or plough, or eat, to sing this hymn to God? 'Great is God, who has given us hands and organs of digestion; who has given us to grow insensibly, to breathe in sleep.' " †

Worship is thus seen to originate in the nature and needs of the human soul. Christianity encourages, guides, elevates and sanctifies human worship. It gives us clearer conceptions of the divine character, especially of the fatherhood and love of God. It changes our nature through the new birth, and affords us immediate access to God through his Son. It gives assurance of being accepted in our worship, and encourages prayer by repeated promises that our petitions will be heard and answered. It brings the gift of the Holy Ghost, by whom we fervently say, Abba, Father. It blesses us even during our earthly existence with eternal life, by bringing us into harmony with the divine character and will. When, therefore, it is said that "Worship springs

* Levana, § 37.

† Discourses of Epictetus, Chap. xi.

from the congregation, the congregation from the church, and the church from Christ," * the order of nature and of fact is reversed. Worship springs from the constitution of the human soul; and the congregation and the church are but aggregations of individuals who had been previously called of Christ.

2. But let us inquire a little more closely into the nature of worship. With the knowledge of God that may be derived from nature, to say nothing of that fuller knowledge revealed in the Scriptures, we intuitively discern that worship cannot consist merely in the performance of outward ceremonies. Appealing only to the light of nature, Paul argued with the Athenians: "God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshiped with men's hands as though he needed any thing, seeing that he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things."† God spoke directly to the heart of his people when he said through his prophet: "I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. . . . Bring me no more oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and the Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting."‡ To approach God with merely outward ceremonies, or to imagine that there is any efficacy in human rites to propitiate his favor—this exhibits great ignorance of the divine character. Of far deeper significance must be the service that is pleasing to him. The Formula of Concord is supported alike by reason and revelation in declaring "that ceremonies or ecclesiastical rites are of themselves neither divine worship, nor even any part of divine worship. For it is written (Matt. xv. 19): 'In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' " §

In religious worship there are two factors—the divine and

* Kliefoth's *Theorie des Cultus*, p. 15. † Acts xvii. 24, 25.

‡ Is. i. 11, 13.

§ Formula of Concord, Art. X.

the human. Man and God meet in the realm of spirit. Worship is essentially a personal communion with God. In worship we offer praise, thanksgiving, petition. We contemplate the excellence of the divine character, the gracious work of redemption, the blessing of providential care, and the beauty of revealed truth. With love, trust and joy we surrender ourselves into the hands of God. On the other hand, God bestows upon us the truth of his Word, the grace of forgiveness, the enlightening presence of the Holy Spirit, and the blessing of advancing sanctification. He draws near to us in the relation of a loving Father. The moments thus spent in conscious and intimate communion with God are the sweetest and holiest experiences of life. Nowhere else do we ascend the Mount of Transfiguration.

It will thus be seen that worship involves reciprocal action. Though we cannot separate them in time or in fact, we may yet distinguish in worship two elements—what God brings to us, and what we bring to God. To these two elements various designations have been applied. Speaking of worship, Luther says: “The first part is to accept God’s Word or through the Word to be instructed. . . . After this, the next thing is, when we have heard God’s Word, that we also thank him.”* To the first part he gives the name *passive*; to the other the name *active*. Again, if we distinguish the sources of the two parts of worship, we may designate them as *objective*—what comes to us from God—and *subjective*—what we bring to him. Still another designation, which originated with Kliefoth and has since been adopted by those in sympathy with his high-church views, is *sacramental* and *sacrificial*, the first denoting God’s gifts to us, and the second our gifts to him. These terms seem to be open to objection as not being accurately descriptive; and furthermore, as being liable to misunderstanding. If we recognize but two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, then worship is often without a sacramental element, unless we connect a new idea with the term sacramental, and make it

* Auslegung über den 122 Psalm.

mean something else than pertaining to a sacrament. And the word sacrificial, though properly understood here in a eucharistic sense, is apt to carry with it in many minds a propitiatory significance—an anti-Protestant and distinctively Roman Catholic conception.

But practically too much stress should not be laid on these distinctions. Worship is a personal fellowship, a union of love; and when the soul in earnest self-surrender to God is lifted up into the blessedness of intercommunion with the divine, when it pours forth its confession, petition, praise, and at the same time feels the fullness of the divine presence and blessing, then all distinctions of active and passive, of subjective and objective, are lost in the rapture of a living and indivisible worship.

3. As will be obvious from the foregoing considerations, worship is essentially spiritual. Our Saviour's declaration, made in opposition to the external services of the Jews and the Samaritans, is axiomatic in its convincing truth: "God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." God no longer manifests himself to men in visible form. He operates invisibly in the soul. And all the elements of acceptable worship on the part of man—love, trust, reverence, gratitude—are affections of the soul. Unfortunately with our carnal affections—the strong gravitation that draws us down from the heights of divine contemplation—there is a constant tendency to substitute external ceremonies and the outward service of the lips for the high spiritual exercises of the soul in worship.

But not all outward worship is to be condemned as formalism. When the children of God come together, the spiritual worship of the assembly naturally assumes an outward form. In this way greater unity of thought, feeling and purpose is secured. But what forms may spiritual worship assume? This is an important question. From the nature of the case, we can see that it is possible for the outward forms to be untrue and injurious—an evil existing in the Pharisaic worship of our Saviour's time, and prevailing

for many centuries in the Christian Church. Bearing in mind the essential nature of worship as communion with God, we are able to give to this question a satisfactory answer in several particulars.

The external form of worship should be the product of the subjective spirit operating in the light of truth. The atmosphere of worship is perfect truth. It is only truth that nourishes the soul. Pervaded by divine truth and working in the light of revelation, the worshiping spirit should create its external forms. Otherwise there will be discord between the external and the internal, and perfect worship become impossible. The unsanctified reason, aided even by the highest æsthetic culture, is incompetent to frame an edifying order of service. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. Only the spiritual nature can produce what its wants require. In arranging a form of service, the process should be from within outward. This was the method unconsciously pursued by the Apostolic Church. While the forms of Christian worship were more or less closely connected with the service of the synagogue, they were at the same time the natural expression of the new religious life. It was not till a later age that false doctrines, springing from human weakness and depravity, crept into the Church and corrupted worship. Theories of worship are interesting from the standpoint of scientific theology; but it is unsafe to construct a liturgy wholly under their influence. They work from without inward, and import into the realm of the spiritual the hard distinctions of the understanding. This appears to be a fault of Loehe's liturgy. The loftiest exercises of the soul in the act of worship can no more be confined to an extended logical form and sequence than the life of the plant can be controlled by the scientific statements of a botany, or the flights of poetic genius be limited by the definitions of rhetoric. There is a vitality in worship beyond the reach of logical analysis.

Again, it is clear that the forms of worship cannot always and everywhere be the same. A certain degree of diversity

is inevitable. Spiritual worship, with its faith, love, adoration, is a living exercise of the soul; and as such, it will vary with different ages, nations, persons, and often, as every devout worshiper knows, with the same person at different times. This is abundantly confirmed by history. Except when uniformity has been secured by outward constraint, as in the Roman Catholic Church, there has been great diversity of form, covering the immense distance between the simple service of Apostolic usage and the exceedingly elaborate liturgies of the Eastern Church. The Protestant Church is right in placing liturgical forms among the adiaphora or things indifferent. "It is not necessary," says the Augsburg Confession truthfully, "that human traditions, rites or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere." The teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England is the same: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."

It is the uniform teaching of the Protestant Church that like ceremonies are not necessary. To insist on absolute uniformity would be not only to interfere with Christian liberty, but also to fetter the worshiping soul. A change of form to suit various conditions and periods in the Church's development is as inevitable as it is allowable. The Formula of Concord has reason as well as Scripture on its side when it says: "Therefore we believe, teach and confess that the Church of God of every place and every time has, according to its circumstances, the authority, power and right in matters truly adiaphora to change, to diminish and to increase them, without thoughtlessness and offense, in an orderly and becoming way, as at any time it may be regarded most profitable, most beneficial, and the best for good order, Christian discipline, and the edification of the Church." * All attempts to secure uniformity of liturgical ceremonies

* Chapter x.

beyond a limited range will be found contrary to the essential nature of worship, and will sooner or later end in failure. Living worship, like every other life-force, will resist closely restrictive forms. It flourishes best in an atmosphere of freedom.

Again, it is obvious from the nature of worship that its forms should be simple. The worship of the soul is a continuous harmony or communion with the divine nature. It is not broken up into separate or fragmentary portions. Hence a highly articulated service will not accord with a deeply worshipful spirit. It will jar upon the devotional feelings, and divert attention from the invisible to the visible, from the internal to the external. An outward act of worship is not essential. True worship, as has been shown, is spiritual. God looks upon the heart. It is in spirit that we pray, revere, rejoice, receive the truth, and grow stronger in faith and love. It is often helpful to embody these acts and sentiments in outward form; but it is the worship of the soul that gives the outward form validity. It is a superficial view of worship that lays too much stress on the outward act.

To say that without responsive worship the congregation "only sits and listens" is ridiculous. To maintain that the congregation must divide itself, and engage in responsive exercises in order to secure genuine congregational worship, is obviously erroneous. In congregational worship, God and the people are the agents. To their communion no responsive service between the minister and the congregation or the choir is necessary. Let the people receive the Word and sacraments; let them bring their praise, thanksgiving, and petition—these are the essential factors. The simple service of the Apostolic Church, which embodied these factors in the clearest and directest manner, and not the highly wrought forms of the Roman Catholic Church, correspond to the truly devotional spirit. A complicated service will be found to tend, not to the edifying of the congregation, but to the weakening of the devotional feelings, and ultimately

to mere formalism. Such a service is not the outgrowth of the worshipful soul, but of the understanding influenced by false theories touching the Church, sacraments and ministry. Historically considered, worship will be found to have lost in spirituality as it gained in elaborateness of ceremonial.

4. We are able, from the foregoing considerations, to settle a question that has given rise at various times to much discussion. Ought the Church to have a liturgy—a fixed form of service? Many have contended that liturgical forms are injurious to spiritual worship. But in opposing a liturgy, they have generally had in mind an elaborate or highly articulated service—the product, not of the devotional spirit, but of historic exigencies or of the misguided understanding. Viewed in this light, their opposition has not been groundless. But as we have seen, when the devotional spirit manifests itself in act, it necessarily gives us an external form. As soon as men undertake to worship together, they naturally unite in certain acts of devotion embodying the objective and subjective elements of worship—hearing the word, singing, prayer; and the collective body of such acts or forms; whether written or unwritten, constitutes a liturgy. Thus the Methodist has a liturgy as really as the Episcopalian. The difference is not in the *fact* of a form of worship, but in the *character* of the form. The opposite of a liturgy or fixed form of worship is a free, spontaneous, or arbitrary service. However desirable a free or spontaneous service may be under some circumstances, but few except Quakers will contend that it would be best for ordinary congregational worship. As a matter of fact, nearly all Christian churches are liturgical; the difference is in the character of the forms as written or unwritten, simple or elaborate, devotional or dogmatic.

5. Since liturgies, in a broad sense, are almost universal in the Christian Church, it is well to consider the criteria by which their excellence may be estimated. It may be laid down as a fundamental principle that liturgical forms are not an end in themselves. Their design is to assist spiritual

worship, and to promote the edification of the worshipping assembly. They should be so framed as to give full, free and satisfying expression to the devotional feelings. When a liturgy fails to harmonize with a devotional state of mind, it is defective and hurtful. Furthermore, a liturgy should be Scriptural. It should neither contain erroneous statements nor in its general structure convey a wrong impression. Apart from separate statements, the Roman Catholic liturgy is objectionable as a whole, because its form embodies false teaching in regard to the office of the ministry and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Again, a liturgy should have adaptation to times and circumstances. Individual and national traits should not be ignored. Intellectual culture, previous training, and local prejudices, are to be taken into account. A disregard of any of these considerations may defeat the great end of public worship—the edifying of the congregation and the building up of the kingdom of our Lord.

Edification, Scriptural truth, and adaptation—these are the great criteria by which a liturgy is to be tried. If it fail in any one of these particulars, it is to be rejected. But how are we to look on the liturgical forms of the past? They are many and various. Here two extremes are possible. First, a total disregard or contempt for them, under the view that they are the outgrowth of ignorant or heretical times. Secondly, a superstitious regard for them as the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Hence they are regarded as having the authority of divine inspiration. This is the view of Kliefoth, who calls the ecclesiastical orders of the past, “the work of the whole Church, the fruit of long centuries of labor, *the form which Christ has won in the Church.*” *

This doctrine, which erects a new source of authority in the Church, and tyrannizes over the individual conscience, is thoroughly anti-Protestant. In opposition to these erron-

* *Theorie des Cultus*, p. 31. Kurtz is therefore right in attributing to Kliefoth, and also to Löhe, who holds the same view, a “Romanizing tendency.” *Church History*, Vol. II., p. 373.

eous views, the proper course is to study the liturgical forms of the past as a basis of clearer insight and sounder judgment. They teach both by their merits and their defects. Perfect gems of devotional prayer and song are sometimes found embedded in ledges of erroneous doctrine and absurd ceremony. In constructing a new liturgy we should not, any more than in doctrine, cut ourselves loose from the past. But all liturgical forms, whether of the past or the present, should be tried by the great principles of edification, truth, and adaptation. We may here apply the Apostolic injunction, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

There is yet another point that deserves to be considered in connection with the criteria of liturgical forms. The congregational worship of God is no longer a secret discipline. No official voice now warns the unbeliever, as was done in a former age, to withdraw from the assembly of saints. The public service of the sanctuary is no longer designed merely for believers. It has, in some measure, a missionary aim, and indeed is often looked upon as the principal means of reaching the unconverted. It is a defective view of ordinary public worship that excludes therefrom any act or any presentation of truth that aims at the conversion of the unbelieving. The edifying of saints and the conversion of sinners are not necessarily antagonistic. The same truth that calls forth praise and thanksgiving from the child of God may also touch and reclaim the lost.

A modern liturgy, so far as may be consistent with the other ends of worship, should be of a character to attract and benefit those without the Church. Paul recognized this principle in relation to the gift of tongues. "If, therefore," he says, "the whole Church be come together in one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that you are mad?" Hence, desiring that those who believe not should be convinced and brought to a knowledge of the truth, the Apostle places a restriction upon the use of tongues: "If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let

it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church; and let him speak to himself and God." Thus the manner of worship was to be modified to suit the needs of the unconverted.

Likewise Luther, whose religious insight was wonderfully keen, held to the same principle. Indeed he went still further than the Apostle, and maintained that the external forms of worship are designed especially to reach and impress the unconverted. In his German Mass, which was prepared in 1526, and better than any other of his liturgical writings presents his matured views in relation to worship, he says: "For in a word, we establish such orders not for the sake of those who are already Christians, for they need none of these things, for which also they do not live; but they live for the sake of us, who are not yet Christians, so that they may make us Christians, for they have their worship in spirit."

When, therefore, it can be shown that any liturgy is repellent to those who are not Christians, and that it thus hinders the missionary work of the Church, we have a strong reason against its use. The conversion of the ungodly is far more important than the use of any particular liturgical form of human devising.

6. The objective element of worship is found in the Word which also includes the sacraments. The Word is presented in the Scripture lessons and in the sermon.

What Scripture shall we read? To this question several answers have been given. On the one hand, the selection of these lessons has been left entirely in the hands of the minister; on the other, it has been fixed by ecclesiastical authority. Each method has its advantages. If the minister is free to select his own lesson, he can choose such passages as are in harmony with the truth to be presented in the sermon, and thus secure unity of thought throughout the entire service. There are often special circumstances that render one passage of Scripture more appropriate than

another; and when the minister is free, he can wisely adapt the lessons to the particular needs of the congregation. Yet, without great care, his selections will lack symmetry, and not bring out the full range of divine revelation.

The reading of prescribed selections as appointed in the Pericope insures variety, and secures adaptation to the chief Christian festivals. The leading facts in the history of redemption are brought out in systematic order. But to allow of no other selections, or always to require these passages, is hardly defensible. The Pericope in ordinary use, which dates in its complete form from the time of Charlemagne, is not faultless. Luther criticised it on the ground that it unduly magnifies works to the obscuring of faith. Other critics have discovered an absence of system in at least a part of the selections. The passages prescribed in the Pericope are often strikingly at variance with the subject of the sermon. This discord, it is true, may be prevented by always preaching from the Gospel or Epistle for the day. But such an arrangement seriously fetters the pulpit. It interferes with the adaptation of the sermon to times and circumstances. Apostolic usage was free; and if we refer to the principle of edification, it is opposed to the absolute restriction of ministerial liberty in this particular.

The manner of reading is worthy of attention. The Scripture lessons contain divine truth; and the object in reading them is to bring that truth to bear upon the mind and heart of the worshiper. The distinction sometimes made between the liturgical and the homiletic use of the Scriptures is based upon a misconception of the real nature of worship. The efficacy of the divine Word is in the truth, which the Holy Spirit uses to regenerate and sanctify men. Hence the reading of Scripture should be in that manner, which best brings out the divine message. There should be no dramatic affectation, no unnatural and stupid drawl. Intoning and chanting, which were the outgrowth of formalism, are here violations of reason and taste. With forgetfulness of self and with the solemnity of earnestness, the min-

ister should communicate the revelation of God to the hearts and minds of the people. The truth of God is most effective when brought clearly and impressively to the intelligence of men. This was evidently the manner of Jesus and of Paul.

The sermon is divine truth as apprehended and spoken by a regenerated person. It is the principal means of extending the kingdom of God in the world. It is the chief function of the ministry, and the reason of the divine institution of that office. No other part of our Saviour's life is so prominent as his preaching. It was by preaching that the Apostles spread the Gospel during the first century. It was chiefly through preaching that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was effected, and that Protestantism has been carried around the globe. Through a spirit of formalism and a magnifying of the sacrifice of the Mass, preaching had for many ages fallen into neglect. It is a part of the glory of the Reformers that they restored the sermon to its proper place in the Church.

The attempt has been made to separate preaching and worship. This attempt has grown out of a false estimate of written liturgical forms, and a misapprehension of the nature of the sermon. As conveying truth from God to man, it clearly belongs to the objective side of worship. It is properly regarded as the principal part of worship. This was its place in the Apostolic Church, and in the reformatory movement of the sixteenth century. In his "Order of Divine Worship in the Congregation," Luther points out the absence of preaching as one of the three great abuses in the Roman Church, and declares "that the Christian congregation should never assemble, except the Word of God be preached"; and in the German Mass he says that "in all worship the greatest and principal part is to preach and teach God's Word." In harmony with this view, Melancthon declares that "the greatest, holiest, most necessary, and highest divine service, which God in the first and second command has enjoined as greatest, is to preach God's Word,

for the office of the ministry is the highest office in the Church." *

We are now prepared to understand the Romanizing tendency of Löhe, who displaces the pulpit by the altar; and like the Roman Catholic makes the Sacrament the chief thing in worship. In the Preface to the first edition of the "Agende," he says: "The liturgical development running through public worship I would compare to a mountain with two peaks, of which one, like Horeb and Sinai, is lower than the other. The first peak is the sermon, the second is the sacrament of the altar, without which I can conceive of no complete worship on earth." And in the Preface to the second edition, referring to the foregoing passage, he says: "If I had again to give an explanation, I would now assign a still higher place to the Last Supper." With these views, which appear to be both un-Lutheran and anti-Protestant, it is not strange that his liturgy in its several parts and arrangement is almost identical with the Roman Mass.

The Protestant Church, and especially the Lutheran Church, look upon the Word and sacraments as the ordinary means of grace—the media through which God communicates his blessings. The Word, however, comes first; for without the Word the sacraments could neither be understood nor exist. The Word is essential in Christian worship; the sacraments are not essential, and as a matter of fact are usually wanting. By common consent the great body of Protestant Christians celebrate the communion only at considerable intervals.

Yet the communion of the Lord's Supper is a rite of great solemnity. It embodies in its significance the entire atoning work of our Lord. In it he comes peculiarly near to his people. How shall it be celebrated? In the Apostolic Church it was celebrated with great simplicity in imitation of the manner of its institution. How impressive and touching the simple record of the Evangelist: "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and

* Apologie der Confession, VIII.

blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." The simplicity of the language and action, freighted as they are with infinite meaning, renders the original rite sublime. In comparison with it, how impoverished appears a complex ceremonial!

But men have not been satisfied with this original simplicity. Many, indeed, are not capable of appreciating its beauty, and stigmatize its simplicity as "baldness." Though from the standpoint of taste and devotion, nothing can surpass the simple liturgy of the institution, some additions may be justified on the principle of edification. As Luther points out in the German Mass, the time for an ideal Christian worship has not yet come; and meanwhile we must accommodate ourselves to human imperfections. A preface or introduction may serve to concentrate the mind upon the important rite, and to stimulate sluggish minds to devotion. Even an admonition may be useful in reminding us of our duty, and of the spirit with which we should come to the Lord's Table. But the additions should be few in number, and accordant with Scripture. In the distribution of the elements no form of expression—no dogmatic statements or extempore exhortations—can be so fitting as the words of the Lord himself. And the closing part of the service should not be so complex—so "richly articulated"—as to necessitate an active exercise of the intellectual powers while the breathings of thanksgiving and prayer are rising warm from the heart.

Prayer is direct personal communication with God. It belongs to the subjective element of worship. In prayer we offer praise and thanksgiving, make confession of sin, and invoke temporal and spiritual blessings. In the best sense of the word, prayer is impossible to the unbeliever. At the best his prayer can be only an agonizing cry for help wrung from him by some impending danger. The modern objec-

tions to prayer are without adequate foundation. The Being who made the world can still operate in and upon it. Prayer is a duty repeatedly urged in the New Testament, and encouraged by the most precious promises. We are incited to prayer by the example of Christ and his Apostles. But even without Scripture warrant, it has a basis in our dependent and helpless condition in the world. It is the spontaneous utterance of a mind that loves and trusts the Supreme Being.

The essential nature of prayer indicates with clearness what its form should be. Prayer is addressed to God. This fact excludes all exhortation, rebuke, persuasion, or instruction intended for the people. Its tone should not be light and flippant, but deeply serious and reverent. Offered in the name of the congregation, it should comprehend only such elements of praise, thanksgiving, confession and petition as are common to the congregation. The minister's personal experiences and wants should be reserved for his private devotions. Prayer should not be a mere empty form. It should come directly from the heart, and have the tone of deep and genuine feeling. There is a holy delight in pouring out freely before God the thoughts and feelings of a soul warmed with divine love. Such were the prayers of the Apostles and the primitive Church.

The use of written forms was a device of a later age, and formed a part of the elaborate ceremonial which a spirit of formalism, in imitation of the Jewish Church, imposed upon Christianity. Yet fixed forms of prayer are not without some justification. Considered from an artistic standpoint, they secure greater perfection of form. They are apt to be more comprehensive in scope, and more condensed and beautiful in expression. The congregation is better able to unite in the prayer. To some persons who are lacking in fluency and fervor, they supply a real want. But without condemning the use of fixed forms, we find that they are exceptional in character, springing not from the essential nature of prayer, but from the needs of particular persons

or from a spirit of formalism. The world will never be converted by fixed forms of prayer, nor by the men that habitually use them.

Singing has always occupied a prominent place in Christian worship. Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs were in use among Christians of the Apostolic age. The finest thoughts and feelings of the heart find expression in poetry, and melody is peculiarly fitted to give them utterance. Hymns are valuable as a means to stimulate devotion, and to impart spiritual truth. They appeal to a part of our nature beyond the reach of the logical faculties. The Roman Catholic who said that Luther had accomplished as much by his hymns as by his sermons, had an adequate conception of the power of wedded poetry and music. Hymns promote the completest harmony in congregational worship. Along with identity of thought and feeling, they thoroughly harmonize in pitch and time the voices of the worshiping assembly. Singing should not be delegated to a choir, but should be entered into heartily by the congregation.

In church hymnody two things are to be considered—the words and the tune. A hymn should be short and complete in itself. It should be correct in thought and sentiment. It should rise above versified prose, and yet not lose itself in vague tunefulness. While tender, it should not be weak and sentimental; and while clear and strong, it should not be coarse and low. It should in no sense be discordant with its high use as a part of divine worship. The objection sometimes urged against the reading of hymns is not altogether well founded. To be sure, the reading is often very imperfect. It may even be regarded as interrupting the course of worship. But inasmuch as many persons in the congregation are often without hymn-books, the reading of the hymn is the only means of acquainting them with its contents, and thus of enabling them to enter into its devotional sentiment. Besides this, the effective reading of a hymn is an excellent way to impress religious truth and feeling.

The same general principles apply to the melody of hymns. The melodies should not be light and frivolous, suggestive of worldly pleasure. They should not be sensual in their nature. If Plato thought it wise to exclude from his ideal republic all melodies that were likely to undermine the character, much more should they be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. The music should be serious and elevated. It should harmonize with the sacred moments when the soul is in communion with its Maker. Yet we should not forget the principle of adaptation and edification. What is profitable for edification at one time and place may not be so at another. An absence of musical taste or of habits of devotion may for a time justify the use of melodies which, if judged by abstract, ideal standards, would be found objectionable.

7. Worship implies time and place. In the early Church worship was held chiefly in private houses. Individual Christians often placed their houses at the service of the congregation in their city or locality. This practice explains such passages as the following: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila. . . . Likewise the church in their house." But as the Church grew in numbers and in wealth, special buildings were erected, at first plain, and afterwards more magnificent, in rivalry with heathen temples, and in harmony with the imposing external character which the Church had assumed. The service of art was called into requisition.

The question has arisen whether this is allowable? It has been opposed by a stern simplicity. But as we have already seen, religion involves the æsthetic sense. Our natural love for the beautiful finds its supreme satisfaction in God. It is not, therefore, inconsistent with the essential nature of religion to utilize architecture, painting and music in worship. Though they are not specifically authorized in the New Testament, they are not contrary to its spirit. To be sure, art in religion is a relatively unimportant matter. Yet, within certain limits, it may be made an aid to spiritual worship. We are sensitive to our surroundings. Splendid architec-

ture, as in the Madeleine or Westminster Abbey; the ocean tones of a mighty organ filling the vast spaces with floods of harmony; magnificent frescoes of the Crucifixion or the Last Judgment—all exalt the soul and dispose it to worship. They impress us with a sense of the divine majesty, and of our dependence upon God.

It is to the credit of Luther that he did not reject the fine arts. It is possible to go too far in rejecting architecture, painting and music. A frigid simplicity of environment is not the most genial atmosphere for the finest feelings of the soul. We may here learn a lesson from nature. The world, which is the great temple of God, is filled with beauty. It is not the cheerlessness of a bleak winter day, but the smiling landscape of spring—the verdant plain, the majestic mountain, the glorious sky—that calls forth deep, spontaneous thanksgiving to God. But in associating art with religion, there is danger of going too far. What is intended as only a very subordinate means is apt to become an end. It sometimes leads to a great waste of money, and begets an alienation of the poorer classes of society. Unlike secular art, which aims at pleasure, Christian art has the far higher end of edification, by which it ought to be governed in all particulars.

Under the Christian dispensation all times are holy unto the Lord. The Christian's whole life is to be one of consecrated service. But following Apostolic usage, which rested on divine appointment, the Church has observed Sunday as a special day of worship. The Church year is not sanctioned by Apostolic usage. It has in its favor the practice of the ancient Jews, from whom the idea was, perhaps, derived. But we should be careful in adopting in the Christian Church the ceremonial usages of the old dispensation. The observance of times and seasons may be carried to an extreme, and gradually drift into a dead formalism—the mechanical performance of outward ceremonies. There can be no reasonable objection to commemorating the leading events in our Saviour's life as they annually return—his

birth, death, resurrection, gift of the Holy Spirit, and ascension. Such commemoration affords an opportunity for the devout contemplation of the leading facts of our religion. It has the sanction of Church usage as early as the second and third centuries. But to multiply these festivals, to assign a saint to every day in the year, as the Roman Catholic Church has done, betrays a spirit of formalism. As in the case of the Pharisees, there is danger that the spirit of worship will be swallowed up in outward ceremonies. Luther was right, when he came to reform public worship, in rejecting all but five or seven of the leading festivals of the Church. And to insist upon the observance of the Church year under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure in any form, is anti-Protestant. It raises into a binding law a human ordinance, which from its very nature should be free. This was the position of Luther, who left the observance of the Church year free.

8. There are various influences that tend to develop an elaborate liturgy. This fact is clearly brought out in the history of liturgics, and needs to be borne in mind in judging of any particular form. When the Church is viewed, not as a communion or congregation of saints, but as a visible organization under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in its regulations, then it is natural to surround its rulers and princes with more or less pomp, to accept its ordinances as having the authority of inspiration, and practically to deny the sufficiency of the Scriptures. Thus Kliefoth declares that "the New Testament contains neither directions for worship, nor a developed form of worship, nor finally declarations which may be taken as fundamental principles for a theory of worship."* When the universal priesthood of Christians is forgotten, and the ministers of the Church are regarded as a separate class or caste, elevated above the laity and exercising lordship over them by immediate divine right, then we may expect the introduction of clerical vestments, the assumption of arbitrary authority, and the de-

* *Theorie des Cultus*, p. 6.

velopment of elaborate ceremonies. When the sacraments are looked upon as possessing magical efficacy in themselves, or when they are considered the principal and essential part of worship, then they are apt to become the object of a superstitious regard, and envelop themselves in elaborate forms. False views of the Church, of the priesthood, and of the sacraments—these are the influences which, in connection with Jewish and heathen forms, have been the leading sources of the lengthy and complicated liturgies of the past. They have not been the offspring of truth under the Holy Spirit, but of falsehood. It is this fact that justified the reformation of worship in the sixteenth century, and that forbids their re-establishment in the Church of to-day.

The opposite process—the reflex influence of forms of worship upon belief—is to be noted. As has been shown, liturgical forms may be the outgrowth of particular views of the Church, priesthood, and sacraments. Hence it follows that the habitual use of these forms will tend to beget and foster the doctrinal views embodied in them. When the worshiper sees the representatives of the Church surrounded with the insignia and ceremony pertaining to earthly princes, he naturally comes to think of the Church as an outward organization. When he sees its ministers distinguished by a peculiar garb, performing the offices of an imposing ritual, and imitating the words and acts of Jewish or heathen priests, he easily comes to think of them as constituting a special priestly class. When the administration of the sacraments is attended with expressions and ceremonies that indicate a magical efficacy, he is readily brought to regard them with superstitious reverence. Thus it is in the power of liturgical formularies to mould the faith of the Church in several important particulars. It is a great mistake to suppose that liturgies have no doctrinal significance. They may be made, and have been made, the insidious means of teaching error. While we carefully scrutinize the structure of the liturgies that are proposed for our acceptance, it is well to study also their doctrinal significance, and inquire

into the views of their authors touching the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments.

9. The Church begins with individuals, who are united to Christ by faith and love. To him as Lord they are individually responsible. They are his stewards; to them he has communicated his will in his Word; and to him alone they have to render an individual account. There is no mediating agency between the Christian and God, to whom he has immediate access through Christ. The special priesthood has been abolished in the universal priesthood. In union with others, a Christian may surrender certain rights for the common good; but no single person or collection of persons has otherwise a divine right to exercise coercive authority over him. This is the great truth set forth by the Saviour himself: "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."* To the coercive authority of every Sanhedrim, whether ancient or modern, the individual Christian may say with Peter, "We ought to obey God rather than men."†

This truth was recognized by Luther at that supreme moment in modern history, when standing before the highest secular and ecclesiastical powers of the world he declared: "Except I can be convinced by Holy Scripture, or by clear and indisputable reasons from other sources (for I cannot defer simply to the Pope or to Councils, since it is clear that they have often erred), I neither can nor will retract anything. . . . My conscience is a prisoner to God's Word; and no one can be compelled to act against his conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." If we do not recognize the independence of the individual soul, enlightened by the Spirit and Word of God, then we cut away the ground from under the feet of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Without this individual liberty, they had no right to attack the Church in its recognized visible organization; and Protestantism, instead of being a great Reformation, degenerates into what the

* Matt. xxiii. 5.

† Acts v. 29.

Roman Catholic regards it—an unholy and indefensible schism.

The next step in the formation of the visible Church is the congregation. This is a body of individual Christians who have united in an organization bound together by rules and regulations of their own appointment. Certain individual rights are surrendered for the common good. The formation of such an organization is not, however, an arbitrary matter. The reason for it is found in human nature, in Christian aims, and in the divine will. As social beings, and also as spiritual brethren, it is natural for the Christians of a community to unite in a body. Inasmuch as union gives strength, they are thus able to carry forward the work of the Master to better advantage. And furthermore, Christ has promised special blessings to congregational worship, and evidently had in mind such organizations when he instituted the sacraments. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, a Christian is under obligation to unite with a congregation, and to submit to its regulations. Only when the regulations are unscriptural or injurious to his religious life, is it permissible for him to remain aloof; and in that case he should seek connection with a body whose regulations are Scriptural and helpful.

It is to be noted that the natural and apostolic constitution of the visible Church is democratic. A monarchical form of government was imposed upon it at a later age. It is not, as the Roman Catholic believes, the priesthood that constitutes the Church, but the great body of individual believers. Until it has united with some larger organization and voluntarily surrendered some of its rights, the congregation is the source of ecclesiastical authority. It is for the congregation to choose pastors, to decide upon modes of church work, and to select its forms of worship. For the minister or for any other ecclesiastical power to do this, independently of the people and against their will, is an unreasonable and unscriptural usurpation of authority. In accordance with these views the Formula of Concord says:

“We believe, teach, and confess that the Church of every place and every time has the power, according to its circumstances, to change such ceremonies, in such manner as may be most useful and edifying to the Church of God.”* Again: “Likewise, the article concerning Christian liberty is also here at stake, to preserve which the Holy Ghost so earnestly charged his Church through the mouth of his holy Apostle. For as soon as this is weakened and the ordinances of men are urged with compulsion upon the Church, as though they were necessary and their omission were wrong and sinful, the way is already prepared for idolatry, whereby the ordinances of men are gradually multiplied and regarded as a service of God, not only equal to the ordinances of God, but are even placed above them.” †

The congregations of a district or country generally unite in a larger organization. No divine law has been prescribed in this matter, and the congregations are free to select that form of organization which under the circumstances will in their judgment best advance the interests of our Saviour’s kingdom. As a matter of fact, various forms of organization—congregational, synodical, and episcopal—have been adopted at different times and places. None of them, however, can justly lay claim to divine authority. These organizations are beneficial in carrying on the general work of the Church—planting missions, promoting education, establishing publishing houses, and organizing other agencies for Christian work and the spread of the Gospel. Never was the efficiency of these general bodies seen to better advantage than in this practical age.

But these larger ecclesiastical organizations are not without their danger. It is not the visible, but the invisible Church that is the organ of the Holy Spirit. The visible organizations of the Church are subject to human imperfections. They sometimes come under the control of men of erroneous doctrine or unholy ambition, and the attempt is made to bring the Church into party or personal subjection.

* Chap. x., Part I.

† Chap. x., Part II.

The only safeguard against this danger is the principle of Christian liberty—a principle dear to the Reformers—according to which local congregations, unless they have voluntarily surrendered this prerogative, have the right to regulate their own ordinances and ceremonies.

CHAPTER I.

WORSHIP IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

IN studying this subject it is important to have a clear idea of the Christian Church as presented in the New Testament. As Guericke has truly remarked, in speaking of the Church, "Its external phase or constitution and worship is, for the most part, the necessary fruit and effect of the inner principle of doctrine and creed." There exists at present, in parts of the Protestant Church, a tendency to revive and emphasize the ecclesiasticism which sprang up in the post-apostolic age, and afterwards found complete realization in the Church of Rome. Accordingly, the external organization of the Church is made prominent, its ministers are regarded as a priestly class or caste, and even in its outward form it is considered the organ of the Holy Spirit. In this way the doctrine, government, and forms of worship prevailing in the third and fourth centuries are held to be, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a legitimate development of primitive Christianity.

The tendency of this ecclesiasticism is thoroughly anti-Protestant. It is in conflict with that fundamental principle of the Reformation which makes the Scriptures the supreme authority in religious faith and practice. It creates a new source of binding authority for the Church of the present day. It prepares the way, in spite of all denials, for an easy transition to Romanism—a truth sufficiently exemplified in connection with the Oxford Tractarian movement in England. Our only security, in the presence of this dangerous tendency, is to emphasize afresh the Protestant principle of the full normative authority of the sacred Scriptures. Only the Apostolic Church should be recognized as having binding authority for subsequent times, for it alone

was under the direction of divinely inspired teachers and law-givers.

What is the idea of the Church as presented in the New Testament? We consider it only in its essential character. Christ came into the world to lead men from sin to righteousness. By faith in his name, we become participants in his redemption, and are born again into a new life of holiness. Our hearts go out in love to him. Now the Church may be defined as the collective body of those who are united to Christ by a living faith, which manifests itself by love and obedience. It is essentially an invisible, spiritual body. An outward organization is not necessary to its existence; and, as a matter of fact, it never has been united in a single visible organization. The Roman Church, the nearest realization of a single outward organization, never comprehended the entire spiritual Church on earth.

But while the Church is essentially a spiritual body, it naturally manifests its presence in a visible manner. It is a living, active power. In the midst of a hostile environment, it seeks to maintain its life. The conduct of its representatives presents a striking contrast with the lives of worldly men. With the weight of a divine command resting upon it, and with the consciousness of possessing an ineffable treasure, it labors to reclaim, save, and sanctify men. To these ends it proclaims the truth in its possession, and celebrates the rites enjoined by its divine Founder. In its outward organization, the Church is affected by human imperfections and sin. It is subject to discord, divisions and errors—evils that manifested themselves even in the days of the apostles. To confound the visible with the spiritual and invisible Church is the source of much error, narrowness and intolerance.

In accord with this essential idea of the Church, the organization, government, and worship of the Apostolic churches were very simple. With the coming of Christ the Old Dispensation had its fulfillment. Its types and shadows therefore gave place to the reality. The temple service, with its typical persons and rites, its mediating priesthood, its signi-

ficant vestments, its altars and sacrifices, found no place in the new Church. Hence it is a mistake to import into the Christian Church the ideas that belong only to the Mosaic dispensation. While many principles of acceptable worship, valid for all time, may be found in the Old Testament, we should carefully distinguish them from the directions pertaining to the temple and tabernacle service, which as a shadow of good things to come was to last only for a time. "The whole system of the Old Testament," says Luther, "with its external divine service, has been abolished, as it was not able to produce such obedience and such willing worshipers. And although such external worship, sacrifice, and work had been commanded this people therein, yet these things have not pleased God in those who have not had a knowledge of Christ and faith. . . . Therefore have they ceased of themselves since Christ came, and creates through the Gospel new worshipers and a new service, which does not consist in external movements and gestures, but is found internally in the heart—a service that does not consist in dead types, but in a new nature and a new life."*

In the New Testament there is no trace of a sacerdotal idea connected with the ministry. A marvelous equality prevailed. "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." The New Testament conception of the Church leaves no place for a priesthood. Christ is the sole mediator between God and man; and through him all believers have access to God. The ministry is a divinely appointed office of teaching in the Church. It declares the Gospel of Christ, and assists in the government of the Church. By precept and example ministers are to seek the edification of believers and the conversion of sinners. They are commissioned to declare the truth; hence Paul exhorts, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and teaching." They possess no authority that entitles them to be "lords over God's heritage." They are what their name indicates—not

* Auslegung über den 110 Psalm.

priests, but *ministers*. They are the chief representatives of a local church; but they occupy this position only by the free choice of the congregation. Their authority rests, not upon an outward sacerdotal descent or appointment, but upon fidelity to the truth and purity of life, to which they have been divinely called. It is a spiritual office, not distinguished by official vestments or worldly pomp, but by the higher insignia of a pure, helpful, loving heart.

The position of the laity in the Apostolic Church deserves more than a passing notice. It has its lesson for our time. The primitive Church was a democracy. With the sacrifice of Christ the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and a way of access to the mercy-seat was opened to the people. The true followers of Christ, without distinction, became, in the language of Peter, "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people." Instead of animal sacrifices offered at stated intervals, their whole life became a divine service. In special worship they offered the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. God became the central thought in life. "Whether therefore ye eat or drink," urged the Apostle, "or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." Their joy in the Gospel begot a strong community of feeling. The sense of brotherhood as fellow-believers in Christ overbalanced all other distinctions. For a time all things were held in common. With the exception of women, every Christian, by virtue of his priesthood, was allowed to teach in the Church. There were no functions specially reserved for ministerial or clerical hands. But for the general welfare, it was soon found expedient to place duly-elected officers at the head of the separate congregations. These officers were presbyters or bishops—different names for the same office—and deacons. They were men distinguished by self-restraint, holiness of life, and aptness in teaching and administration. Though often nominated by the Apostles or by their representatives, these officers were always elected or at least approved by the people. Each church enjoyed great liberty. Faith, love, obedience

—these were the essential things; after which the people enjoyed great freedom in external matters. No form of church government and no ritual of worship was prescribed by Apostolic authority. Every congregation was free to choose its teachers, make its regulations, and determine its forms of worship. In the fervor of their devotion and love, the first Christians met very frequently—sometimes daily—for the purpose of worship. Among Jewish Christians both the Sabbath and the Lord's day, and among Gentile Christians, the Lord's day only, were observed with special solemnity. No other festivals appear to have been observed—their introduction belonging to a later date.

In some measure the worship of the Apostolic Church was modeled upon the synagogue service. The temple system, with its sacerdotal class, its visible altars, and outward sacrifices, was discarded. A spiritual service was henceforth to take the place of a ceremonial service. "The service and worship of the temple being abolished as being ceremonial," says Lightfoot, "God transplanted the worship and public adoration of God used in the synagogues, which was moral, into the Christian Church, to wit: the public ministry, the public prayers, reading God's Word, and preaching, etc. Hence the names of the ministers were the very same." The simplicity and freedom of the synagogue service—consisting chiefly of prayer, song, reading and exposition of the Scriptures—was well adapted in the main to the spiritual wants of Christianity. Though some difference may be discovered between the worship of Jewish and Gentile Christians, it was essentially the same both in form and spirit. At first there were no special buildings, and the congregation assembled at private houses. There were no prescribed liturgical forms. The sacraments were administered in the simple manner of their institution. Christianity was felt as a new life, in the presence of which external forms counted for little or nothing. "There is in the New Testament," says Jacob, "no trace of Christian worshipers *turning to the east* in their prayers, or other parts

of their service; though this practice appears at the beginning of the third century, and was probably begun much earlier. Neither is the use of *incense or lamps or candles*, as sacred or symbolical accompaniments in any Christian ceremony, to be found in the Apostolic age; nor does it appear that Christian ministers then wore any *peculiar dress or official vestments* in any of their ministrations. All these came in at a later period, and were derived from Jewish or heathen practices, as the Church, having lost the fullness and freshness of Apostolic truth, learned from such objectionable sources to affect a more elaborate ceremonial, and to court an æsthetic display, quite foreign to the devout simplicity of the Apostolic age.”*

The worship of the Apostolic Church was based on principles laid down by its great Founder. In the New Testament Jesus appears as a reformer. Both in doctrine and in worship he recurs, as occasion requires, to fundamental principles. While he took part in the service of the Temple and synagogue, he recognized their temporary character. At this time the Rabbinical law had burdened religion with an almost incredible number of rites and ceremonies. The rules of the Rabbis often descended to ridiculous details. There was tithing of mint, anise and cummin; the washing of pots and cups; the arrangement of phylacteries, tassels, and straps. With this mechanical piety, which consisted in the scrupulous observance of external rites, Jesus had no sympathy. He pointedly condemned the excessive multiplication of ceremonies with which the Pharisees, at a period of spiritual decline, had burdened the worship of the people. Hence he said to them: “Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh to me with their mouth; but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.” With this sweeping declaration he clears away the parasitic ceremonies that had fastened themselves upon the divine service appointed of God.

* The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, p. 214.

The fundamental principle of Christian worship was set forth by our Saviour at the well of Samaria. The Samaritan woman, recognizing in Jesus a prophet of the Lord, said to him: "Our fathers worshiped in this mountain; but ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." It was an old question. For four hundred years the Samaritans had worshiped on the mountain close by. Our Saviour's answer is clear and explicit. As between the Jews and the Samaritans, he gives the preference to the former; but at the same time his gaze sweeps over coming ages, and takes in the spiritual kingdom he came to establish. "Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth." This is a clear and far-reaching statement, the truth of which is intuitively recognized. It shows the vanity of all outward ceremonies, except as they may be the outgrowth of spiritual needs or institutions of divine appointment.

The end of public worship, as indicated in the New Testament, harmonizes with the purpose of the Gospel itself. It is not a ceremony that has value in and for itself. With the Christian dispensation, external ceremonies, as works pleasing to God, have been supplanted by internal acts and sentiments—the love, trust, obedience and reverence of the heart. The great object of social worship, as contemplated by the Apostles, was edification. It was the principle that controlled all the ordinances of the Church, and the appointment of the various orders of the ministry. In the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, which is devoted to a discussion of the mode and principles of worship, Paul says: "Let all things be done unto edifying." And again in Ephesians: "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets;

and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." Other passages teach the same truth, namely, that edification was regarded by the Apostles as the chief end of congregational worship.

But there is another principle, closely related to what we have been considering, that needs to be pointed out. "Let all things," says Paul, "be done decently and in order." This is a principle of wide application. It forbids at once arbitrary irregularity and fanatical confusion. Under this principle Paul placed a restriction upon those who were inspired with the gift of tongues, and enjoined silence upon women in the congregational meetings. Under the conditions then existing, it was regarded as "a shame for women to speak in the church." Unless all things are done decently and in order, the worship of the congregation tends to distraction rather than to edification.

These principles were embodied in the worship of the Apostolic Church. The several parts of worship, or the *liturgy* of the primitive Church (using that word in the broad sense already spoken of), may be given as follows:

1. The reading of portions of the Old Testament Scriptures—a practice transferred from the synagogue to the Christian Church. To these were added in due time lessons from the Gospels and Epistles.

2. The preaching of the Gospel. This was in the form of brief extemporaneous addresses, recounting the leading facts in the life of Jesus, and containing a warm exhortation to repentance. Several discourses of Peter and Paul are preserved in the Acts of the Apostles.

3. Prayer. This was offered freely from the heart with great depth of devotion. We find a beautiful example in the fourth chapter of the Acts. As we would naturally expect, from the devotional spirit of the Apostolic Church, prayer occupied a prominent place in the Christian life. It is frequently enjoined by the Apostles, and in one place Paul urges the Thessalonians to "pray without ceasing."

4. Singing. As peculiarly adapted to give expression to devotional sentiment, singing readily found a place in the worship of the first Christians. In the Psalms, with which they had become familiar in the synagogue, they possessed a rich treasure of devotional thought and feeling. The Lord himself introduced psalmody into the new dispensation; for we read that a hymn was sung at the institution of the Last Supper. And Paul expressly enjoined singing as a means of edification. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts unto the Lord."

5. The administration of the Lord's Supper. This was usually celebrated in connection with a simple meal known as the *agape*, or love feast. Its celebration was attended with much solemnity; and when abuses crept into the Church at Corinth, we find Paul exhorting, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." There was no fixed ritual for its celebration further than the words of institution themselves. The love feast and the holy kiss, which were at first connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, were afterwards discontinued on account of abuses. Baptism was not administered in the assembly.

Throughout the greater part of the second century, the Church retained in large measure its Apostolic character. The congregations remained independent of one another, elected their own officers and teachers, and determined their own forms of worship. But the influence of Jewish institutions gradually became apparent. The bishops, now forming a distinct class from the presbyters, began to assume the prerogatives of Jewish high priests; the presbyters were compared to priests, and the deacons to Levites. Thus we find in the first Epistle of Clement, dating from near the close of the first century, the following passage: "His own peculiar services are assigned to the high-priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman

is bound by the laws that pertain to the laymen.” * Yet in the forty-fourth chapter he recognizes the fact that the Apostles appointed officers and teachers only “with the consent of the whole Church.”

In the second century the ascetic spirit had its beginning. Many Christians fancied that they could attain to greater spirituality by means of physical suffering. Abstaining from every form of physical comfort and enjoyment, they withdrew into desert places, and mortified their bodies through watching, fasting and toil. With these departures from the principles of the New Testament, the ceremonies of worship began to be multiplied. This was done in imitation of Jewish worship, and also to conciliate the heathen, who took offense at the simplicity of Apostolic usage. The observance of Easter and Whitsuntide was introduced, and the baptized were signed with the cross.

But these tendencies to formalism did not yet seriously affect the life of the Church; and among these early Christians we find a beautiful embodiment of the principles of the Gospel. In the midst of heathen vices, they led lives of purity. Mercy took the place of cruelty; integrity supplanted dishonesty; and humility drove out ambition. An ardent faith in God raised them above misfortune and suffering, and with joyful spirit they went even to the stake. Their homes were consecrated by piety. Their children were brought up in the fear of God, and they exercised a boundless hospitality and benevolence. To quote but a single passage from the abounding testimony of the early Fathers, Justin Martyr says: “We who formerly delighted in fornication, now embrace chastity alone; we who formerly used magical arts, dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock, and communicate to every one in need; we who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not live with men of a differ-

* Chap. xl. This chapter, however, is thought by some to be a forgery.

ent tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavor to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, to the end that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God the ruler of all." *

Of the worship in the Church of the second century we have several interesting descriptions by contemporary writers. About forty years after the death of St. Paul, Pliny, the Roman Governor of Bithynia, wrote a letter to the emperor Trajan, in which he describes his method of dealing with the Christians. Among other things he says: "They affirmed that the whole of their guilt or error was, that they met on a certain stated day, before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some God, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate and then reassemble to eat in common a harmless meal."

In the First Apology of Justin Martyr we have a description of Christian worship as it existed near the middle of the second century: "On the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who

* First Apology, Chap. xiv.

are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly; because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day arose from the dead."

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, which probably dates from the early part of the second century, gives us a form of thanksgiving used in connection with the communion: "First, concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever." The prayer after the communion is given as follows: "We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou didst cause to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Thou, Master almighty, didst create all things for thy name's sake; thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we thank thee that thou art mighty; to thee be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for thy king-

dom which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maran-atha. Amen." It is probable that at the conclusion of each separate petition in the foregoing prayers, the congregation responded Amen.

In the worship described in these extracts we discern in general the simplicity and consecration of the Apostolic Church. The essence of worship is still placed, not in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in the homage, self-consecration, and communion of the heart. The ceremonies of worship consisted in singing, prayer, reading of Scripture, exhortation, and the Lord's Supper, unattended by any fixed and elaborate ritual. The prayers of the president or bishop appear, as a rule, to have been free and spontaneous, for such is the natural meaning of Justin Martyr's phrase, "according to his ability." Among the special usages to be noted are: 1. The introduction of fixed forms of prayer, as indicated in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. 2. The probably frequent responses of Amen by the congregation. 3. The mingling of water with the communion wine. 4. The sending of a portion of the consecrated elements to absent members through the deacons. 5. A frequent free-will offering which was placed in the hands of the president or bishop for the benefit of the needy.

CHAPTER II.

WORSHIP IN THE AGE OF CONSTANTINE.

DURING the third and fourth centuries the hierarchical tendency, which had its beginning, as we have seen, in the second century, was still further developed. Contrary to the practice of the Apostolic Church, the office of bishop was severed from that of presbyter, and elevated above it. The Church passed more and more under the power of the bishop. Among the authors of this change, we may mention Ignatius and Cyprian. The former said, "Let all reverence . . . the bishop as Jesus Christ."* Cyprian taught that bishops derive their authority, not from the people, but immediately from God. According to his view, bishops are the successors of the Apostles, clothed in the same divine authority, and amenable to none but God. As the representatives of Christ he claimed that bishops governed in the place of the Lord. Unfortunately these unscriptural views came to prevail generally in the Church, and transformed the ministry of the New Testament into a sacerdotal caste.

With the increasing power of the clergy, and the corresponding subordination of the laity, the primitive simplicity and piety of the Church in great measure disappeared. Many bishops affected the estate of princes, and surrounded themselves with the insignia of power. In splendid attire, they sat upon thrones surrounded by liveried attendants. The legitimate duties of their office were frequently neglected to seek merely worldly aggrandizement. The contests among the bishops of this age, especially between the Sees of Rome and Constantinople, are notorious. Following their example, the presbyters and deacons often became worldly, performed their duties only in a perfunctory man-

* Epistle to the Trallians, Chap. iii.

ner, and lived in indolence and pleasure. To meet the demands of an elaborate ecclesiastical organization and ritual, many new offices—subdeacons, acolyths, lectors, exorcists, catechists, and others—were created.

With the reign of Constantine the primitive constitution of the Church was pretty thoroughly subverted. The hierarchical tendencies, which had been insidiously at work during the two preceding centuries, became firmly established. The bishops became a mediating priesthood, dispensing life and death, and exercising authority as the vicars of Christ. Thus in the Apostolic Constitutions—a work dating from about this time—we read such passages as the following: “The bishop is the minister of the Word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and next after God, he is your father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit. He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly god, who has a right to be honored by you.” * And again: “Reverence these, and honor them with all kinds of honor; for they have obtained from God the power of life and death, in their judging of sinners, and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also of loosing returning sinners from their sins, and of restoring them to a new life.” †

As “bishop in externals,” a title he applied to himself, Constantine exercised control over the external affairs of the Church; and in order to bring its organization into closer likeness with the civil administration, he introduced various grades among the bishops. The bishops of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople received the pre-eminence, and were distinguished by the Jewish title of Patriarch. Then came the exarchs, who presided over several provinces; the metropolitans, who governed each a single district; archbishops, who watched over a smaller part of a

* Book II., Chap. xxvi.

† Book II., Chap. xxxiii.

country ; and lastly, ordinary bishops, whose jurisdiction had variable limits.

Under Constantine Christianity became the state religion. The Church assumed the character of an immense visible organization. Churches were greatly multiplied ; and in rivalry with the magnificence of heathen temples, they were built after an elaborate style of architecture. The several parts of a typical Church, a knowledge of which is necessary to an understanding of the liturgical service, were as follows : 1. The bema or sanctuary—a large semicircular recess at the end of the building—which was set apart for the clergy. Here the bishop had his throne. The bema contained also the altar, on which the bishop as high priest, in imitation of the Jewish service, offered the body and blood of Christ as a sacrifice. 2. On each side of the bema or sanctuary were rooms called the *prothesis* and *diaconicon*, corresponding to modern vestries. It was from the *prothesis* that the sacred vessels and the elements were brought at the communion. 3. The nave or body of the Church, which was occupied by the lay members. In front of the bema was the place of the choir, and also the reader's desk or *ambon*, elevated above the surrounding seats. 4. The narthex or vestibule, immediately in the rear of the nave, and occupied by the catechumens, penitents, and others.

In reference to the arrangement of the church, the Apostolic Constitutions say : " Let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed ; on each side of him let the presbytery sit down ; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship ; with regard to these, let the laity sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves, they also keeping silence. In the middle, let the reader stand upon some high place." *

* Book II., Chap. Ivii.

As a result of the new organization and condition of the Church, public worship underwent a change. Worship, in large measure, became formal. An elaborate ritual was substituted for the worship in spirit and in truth commended by our Saviour. Even Augustine complained that the yoke once laid upon the Jews was more supportable than that laid upon many Christians. Ceremonies were borrowed from heathen worship in order to attract the people to Christianity. "There was little difference," says Mosheim, "in these times between the public worship of the Christians and that of the Greeks and Romans. In both alike there were splendid robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, cro-siers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and numberless other things." * The ecclesiastical year was developed, and the worship of the Virgin and saints, of images and relics, was introduced. Fasting became common, and was thought to have special efficacy in repelling Satan and pleasing God.

The first day of the week or the Lord's day, the observance of which Constantine required by a special law, continued to be the usual time for congregational worship. Public worship was divided into two parts: 1. The service of the catechumens (*Missa catechumenorum*)—those who were under instruction preparatory to baptism; and 2. The service of the Faithful (*Missa fidelium*)—those in full connection with the Church. To the latter part belonged the administration of the Lord's Supper, which now became the leading feature of worship. It was made a mystery, from which all classes of people, except persons in full membership, were excluded. Hymns, prayers, Scripture reading and sermons continued to be employed; but they were enveloped in an elaborate ceremonial, which impressed upon worship a formal character utterly foreign to the spirit of the New Testament and to the essential nature of worship itself. The chief thing in worship was the priestly oblation of the body and blood of Christ; and instead of a spiritual

* Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I., p. 276.

communion with God, the ritual act on the part of the people was looked upon as a meritorious work. Speaking of this period, Koestlin says: "The correlate of the priestly idea is found in the sacrificial idea, and in its associated conception of the nature and value of worship. According to this conception worship is regarded as an act in and for itself pleasing to God, a spiritual work, a sacrifice, and its worth is placed in the objective performance of the worshiping act, in the spirituality of the work itself." *

The typical worship of this period is contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, a work compiled about the middle of the fourth century, though undergoing subsequent changes and additions. It is the earliest specimen of a fixed form of worship that has come down to us. It is known as the Clementine Liturgy, though the author of the compilation, according to a custom not unusual at the time, ascribes it, as will be seen, to St. James. The principal prayers, which are inordinately long, are omitted; but otherwise the service is given in full.

THE LITURGY OF ST. CLEMENT.

After the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles and Acts, and the Gospels, let him that is ordained salute the Church, saying:

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and our Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

And let all answer: And with thy spirit.

And after this, let him address to the people words of exhortation, and when he hath ended his word of doctrine (I, Andrew, the brother of Peter, say), all standing up, let the deacon ascend to some high place, and proclaim: Let none of the auditors, let none of the unbelievers stay. And when quiet hath been made, let him say:

Ye that are catechumens, pray.

* Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes, p. 40.

And let all the faithful pray for them in their mind, saying:

Lord, have mercy.

And let the deacon bid prayers for them, saying:

Let us all pray unto God for the catechumens, that he that is good, he that is the lover of mankind, will mercifully hear their prayers and supplications, etc. [At the conclusion of this bidding prayer, the catechumens rise, and bow their heads to receive the blessing.]

But at the naming of every one by the deacon, let the people say:

Lord, have mercy.

And let the children say it first. And as they bow down their heads, let the bishop who is newly ordained bless them with this blessing:

O God Almighty, unbegotten and inaccessible . . . do thou thyself also now look upon these thy servants, the catechumens of the Gospel of thy Christ, etc.

And after this, let the deacon say: Go out, ye catechumens, in peace. *And after they have gone out, let him say:* Ye energumens, afflicted with unclean spirits, pray, and let us earnestly pray for them, that God the lover of mankind will by Christ rebuke the unclean and wicked spirits, etc. [At the conclusion of this prayer, the energumens bow their heads to receive the blessing.]

And let the bishop pray over them, saying:

Thou that didst bind the strong man, and spoil all his goods . . . rebuke the evil spirits, and preserve the works of thy hands from the energy of an adverse spirit: for to thee is glory, honor, and worship, and by thee to thy Father, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And let the deacon say: Go out, ye energumens. *And after this, let him cry aloud:* Ye that are to be illuminated, pray. Let us all, the faithful, earnestly pray for them, that the Lord will vouchsafe that initiated into the death of Christ they may rise with him, and become partakers of his king-

dom, etc. [Then they bow down their heads and receive the blessing.]

And let the bishop pray over them, saying:

Thou that saidst aforehand by thy holy prophets to the initiated, Wash you, make you clean . . . do thou thyself now look upon the baptized, etc.

And let the deacon say: Go out, ye that are preparing for illumination. *And after that, let him proclaim:* Ye penitents, pray. Let us all earnestly pray for our brethren in the state of penitence, that God, the lover of compassion, will show them the way of repentance, etc. [Then they bow their heads and receive the bishop's blessing.]

Then let the bishop pray after this fashion:

Almighty, everlasting God, Master of all, Creator and Governor of all things . . . look down upon these that have bowed to thee the necks of their souls and bodies, etc.

Then let the deacon say: Depart, ye penitents. *And let him add:* Let none of those draw near who ought not to come. All we of the faithful, let us bend our knee: let us all entreat God through his Christ; [Here follows a long bidding prayer, after which the people rise.]

Then let the bishop pray over them and say:

O Lord almighty, most High . . . vouchsafe to them that everlasting life which is in Christ thy only begotten Son, our God and Saviour, through whom glory and worship be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and forever and ever. Amen.

And after this, let the deacon say: Let us attend.*

And let the bishop salute the church, and say:

The peace of God be with you all.

And let the people answer:

And with thy spirit.

And let the deacon say to all:

Greet ye one another with an holy kiss.

And let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women. And let the children

* This is the beginning of the Eucharistic part of the service.

stand at the reading desk; and let another deacon stand by them, that they may not be disorderly. And let other deacons walk about and watch the men and women, that no tumult be made and that no one nod, or whisper, or slumber; and let the deacons stand at the doors of the men, and the subdeacons at those of the women, that no one go out, nor a door be opened, although it be for one of the faithful, at the time of the oblation. But let one of the subdeacons bring water to wash the hands of the priests, which is a symbol of the purity of those souls that are devoted to God. (And I, James, the brother of John, say that) the deacon shall then proclaim:

Let none of the catechumens, none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here. You who have prayed the foregoing prayer, depart. Let the mothers receive their children; let no one have any thing against any one; let no one come in hypocrisy; let us stand upright before the Lord with fear and trembling, to offer.

When this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and let the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, as disciples stand before their Master. But let two of the deacons on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made up of thin membranes, or of the feathers of the peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away flies and gnats, that they may not fall into the cups. Then let the high priest, together with the priests, pray by himself; and let him put on his splendid vestments, and stand at the altar, and make the sign of the cross upon his forehead with his hand and say:

The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

And let all with one voice say:

And with thy spirit.

Bishop. Lift up your mind.

People. We lift it up unto the Lord.

Bishop. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

People. It is meet and right so to do.

Bishop. It is indeed meet and right before all things to sing praises to thee, the true God, from everlasting, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, etc. [Here follows a very long and ostentatious prayer, covering six ordinary pages, and concluding as follows:] For all these things glory be to thee, O Lord Almighty. . . . The cherubim and seraphim with six wings, with twain covering their feet, with twain their heads, and with twain flying, say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly and with loud voices,

And let all the people say it with them:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: be thou blessed forever. Amen.

After this let the bishop say:

Thou art indeed holy . . . Holy also is thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God. [Here follows a long commemoration of the whole work of redemption, and also the following:]

Mindful, therefore, of what he endured for us, we give thanks to thee, O God Almighty, not as much as we ought, but as much as we can; and fulfill his command. For in the night in which he was betrayed, he took bread in his holy and blameless hands, and looking up to thee, his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant. Take of it and eat. This is my body which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise also the cup he mingled of wine and water, and sanctified and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it. This is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death, until I come. Mindful, therefore, of his passion and death, and resurrection and ascension, and second coming with power and glory to judge the quick and the dead . . . we offer to thee, our King, and our God, according

to his command, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee through him, for that thou hast vouchsafed unto us to stand before thee and be priests to thee.

And we desire thee that thou wilt graciously look upon these gifts, set forth before thee, O God in want of naught, and be well pleased with them to the honor of thy Christ, and send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may break this bread, the body of thy Christ, and this cup, the blood of thy Christ, in order that they who partake thereof may be confirmed in piety, may gain remission of sins . . . and eternal life. [The prayer concludes thus:]

For to thee belongs all glory, veneration, and thanksgiving, honor and worship, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and forever, world without end.

And let all the people say: Amen.

And let the bishop say:

The peace of God be with you all.

And let all the people say:

And with thy spirit.

And let the deacon again proclaim:

Let us still further beseech God through his Christ, etc.

[Here follows the bidding prayer for the faithful after the oblation.]

And let the bishop say:

O God . . . the God and Father of thy holy servant Jesus our Saviour, look upon us, and upon this thy flock . . . and sanctify us in body and soul, and make us worthy . . . to receive the offered blessings; and judge none of us to be unworthy; . . . through thy Christ, with whom to thee be all glory forever. Amen.

And after all have said, Amen, let the deacon say:

Let us attend.

And let the bishop speak thus to the people:

Holy things for holy persons.

And let the people answer:

There is one holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed forevermore. Amen. Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord, and he hath appeared unto us. Hosanna in the highest.

After this, let the bishop partake; then the presbyters, and deacons, and subdeacons, and readers, and singers, and ascetics, and of the women, the deconesses, virgins and widows. Afterwards the children, and then all the people in order, with fear and reverence, without tumult or noise. And the bishop shall give the oblation, saying:

The body of Christ.

And let him that receives say, Amen.

And the deacon shall take the cup, and when he gives it, let him say:

The blood of Christ, the cup of life.

And let him that drinks say, Amen.

And let the thirty-third Psalm be said while the rest are partaking; and when all, both men and women, have partaken, let the deacons carry what remains into the vestry.

And let the deacons say, when the singers have finished:

Having received the precious body and precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to him who hath vouchsafed that we should receive his holy mysteries, and let us beseech him that they may not be to us to judgment, but to salvation; to the advantage of soul and body, to the preservation of godliness, to the forgiveness of sins, to the life of the world to come. Let us rise. In the grace of Christ, let us commend ourselves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to his Christ.

And let the bishop give thanks:

Master, God Almighty, Father of Christ, thy blessed Son . . . we yield thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed us to receive thy holy mysteries . . . and gather us all together into thy kingdom of heaven, by Jesus Christ our Lord, with

whom glory, honor, and worship be to thee, and the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen.

And let the deacon say:

Bow down to God through his Christ and receive the blessing.

And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:

O God Almighty; the true God, to whom nothing can be compared . . . be gracious to me, and hear me, for thy name's sake, and bless those that bow down their necks unto thee, and grant them the petition of their hearts. . . . For to thee belongs the glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord and God and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

And let the deacons say:

Depart in peace.

The result of the foregoing inquiry into the principles and forms of worship in the first half of the fourth century may in part be summarized as follows:

1. The ascendancy of the hierarchical view of the ministry, according to which the clergy exercise authority over the laity by immediate divine right.

2. The conception of the Church as a visible organization to be governed by various orders of the hierarchy, in imitation of the Mosaic economy and the civil administration of the Roman empire.

3. Growing out of these unscriptural views, a decline in the piety of the Church, especially among the clergy, the multiplication of ceremonies, and the introduction of superstitious practices.

4. As the complement of the sacerdotal view of the ministry, the sacrificial conception of the Lord's Supper, according to which the body and blood of Christ are offered to God as a sacrifice for sin.

5. As a consequence of this sacrificial idea, the celebration of the Lord's Supper becomes the principal part of

divine worship, and surrounds itself with an imposing ceremonial.

6. The conception of worship, not as a spiritual communion with God, but as a ritual act, the performance of which is considered in itself a meritorious work, pleasing to God.

CHAPTER III.

WORSHIP IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

THE period specially contemplated in this chapter embraces the fifth and sixth centuries. It was a period of great liturgical development, and its rituals have supplied the orders of service for a large part of Christendom. The liturgy of St. Chrysostom, soon to be presented, is substantially the order of the Greek Church at the present time; and the liturgy of Gregory the Great is the basis of the existing Roman Mass, and through it of the leading Lutheran and Anglican liturgies. It is a period, therefore, that merits special study.

“The right relation between doctrine and worship,” says Kurtz, “doubtless is, that the latter should be regulated and determined by the former.”* This is the usual and natural order; and as we have seen, it determined the forms of worship in the Apostolic Church, and in the age of Constantine. In the present period we shall find a still further illustration of the same principle. Unevangelical doctrine perverted spiritual worship.

The general drifting away from evangelical views of the ministry, Church, and sacraments, as seen in the preceding period, was not without clear and emphatic protests. In many cases the enlightened Christian conscience was offended by the prevailing errors. In opposition to a demand for pomp and show, Origen said substantially: “In the highest sense, God’s temple and image are in the humanity of Christ; next, in all actuated by the spirit of Christ; living images these, with which no Jupiter of Phidias is worthy to

* Church History, p. 216.

be compared.”* In opposition to the tendency to make religion outward and formal, Clement says: “The disciples of Christ ought so to appear and so to shape their conduct in their daily living, as, for the sake of propriety, they strive to appear in the Church; they should really *be*, and not merely *seem* to be such,—so gentle, so devout, so amiable. But I know not how it is that, with the place, they change their appearance and their manners, just as it is said of the polypus, that it changes its color with the roots to which it clings. They lay aside the spiritual demeanor which they assumed in the Church, as soon as they leave it, and put themselves on a level with the multitude with whom they mingle. They convict themselves of insincerity, and show what was really the temper of their hearts, by laying off their assumed mask of decorum. They profess to honor the Word of God, but leave it behind them in the place where they heard it.”†

It should not be forgotten, also, that in spite of the false views which perverted the organization and worship of the Church, the Gospel asserted its power in many individual lives. There were heroic missionaries and martyrs. Many an anchorite, like Anthony, was animated by a spirit of deep piety and consecration. Not a few Christian women—Monica, the mother of Augustine, and Noma, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzen—exhibited an almost ideal Christian character. And some of the leading teachers in the Church—those whom we honor with the name of “the Fathers”—were as notable for their piety as for their ability and learning. And yet it remains true that in spite of many beautiful examples to the contrary, the unscriptural tendencies in doctrine and in worship told disastrously upon the religious life of the people as a whole.

The sacerdotal view of the ministry and the hierarchical organization of the Church continued to prevail throughout the period under consideration. The See of Rome, how-

* Against Celsus, Book VIII., Chaps. xvii., xviii.

† Quoted by Neander. History of the Church, Vol. I., p. 290.

ever, claimed a primacy over all other bishoprics; and through political interests and shrewd, far-seeing diplomacy, it succeeded at length in making good its preposterous pretensions. Leo the Great declared that "the care of all the churches belonged to himself, as the successor of the Apostle Peter, to whom, as the reward of his faith, the Lord had assigned the primacy among the Apostles, and upon whom he had founded his Church."* Here the centralizing or monarchical tendency, which had been at work through several preceding centuries, reached its culmination in the Western Church. This result was of great significance for public worship. It ultimately imposed a single liturgical form upon a large part of Christendom.

In the Eastern Church, the several patriarchs, like the pope of Rome, constantly sought an increase of power. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon decreed that the bishop of Constantinople or New Rome ought to enjoy equal honors and prerogatives with the bishop of ancient Rome. Supported by the imperial court, the patriarch of Constantinople aspired to pre-eminence in the East, and succeeded in subordinating the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. Everywhere the patriarchs encroached upon the rights of the bishops, and the bishops upon the rights of the people. The spiritual nature of the Church and the universal priesthood of Christians were lost sight of. The Church was viewed as an external organization; the higher orders of the clergy lived as princes. The clerical life thus appealed to the worldly ambition of men; and many persons entered the priesthood, not to minister to the spiritual wants of the people and to build up a kingdom of righteousness, but to live in ease, splendor or power. Speaking of the Church in the fifth century, Mosheim says: "Of the vices of the whole clerical order, their luxury, their arrogance, their avarice, their voluptuous lives, we have as many witnesses as we have writers of integrity and gravity in this age whose works have come down to us. The bishops, especially such

* Guericke's Church History, p. 276.

as were distinguished for their rank and honors, employed various administrators to manage their affairs, and formed around themselves a kind of sacred court. The dignity of a presbyter was supposed to be so great that Martin of Tours did not hesitate to say at a public entertainment, that the emperor himself was inferior to one of that order. The deacons were taxed with their pride and their vices in many decrees of the Councils. These stains upon the character of the clergy would have been deemed insufferable, had not most of the people been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and had not all estimated the rights and privileges of Christian ministers by those of the ancient priests both among the Hebrews and among the Greeks and Romans.”*

Religious worship underwent, as compared with the preceding period, a still further deterioration. The spiritual was lost in the external. The churches were now decorated with images, which became objects of worship. Relic worship increased until no altar or church was built that did not possess its own relic. “Gradually, as the small number of known martyrs no longer sufficed to supply the increasing number of churches with relics, their bones were distributed.”† The ecclesiastical year received its complete development. The worship of Mary and of the saints led to the institution of festivals in their honor. When the large number of canonized saints rendered it impossible to dedicate a special day to each one, Pope Boniface IV. in 610 instituted the *festum omnium sanctorum*. Fasting and pilgrimages became frequent; and in addition to the services of Sunday, special religious exercises were held on Wednesday and Friday. The distinction between religious and secular—a distinction that continued till the time of the Reformation—was sharply drawn; and Christianity, instead of being regarded a sanctification and consecration of the whole life to God, became a matter of outward ceremony—something apart from the daily life.

* Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I., p. 327.

† Kurtz, Church History, Vol. I., p. 225.

In worship the sacerdotal and sacrificial idea came into greater prominence. It at length dominated every part of the service, and finally reduced it to a celebration of the Lord's Supper. Speaking of this period, Koestlin says: "The New Testament priesthood, which rests on personal holiness of life, no longer forms a contrast with the theocratic priesthood, which rested on a sacred office. The New Testament sacrifice, which is spiritual, and consists in the grateful consecration of the whole man to the Lord, no longer forms a contrast with the Old Testament sacrifice, which was a ceremonial and ritual act instituted of God. On the contrary, the New Testament priesthood is made a higher grade of the Old Testament priesthood, the New Testament sacrifice the more perfect because completely efficacious sacrifice; but both priesthood and sacrifice are factors as essential for Christianity, as for the Old Testament theocracy. For Christianity is looked upon as the completion of the theocracy, not in the sense that it represents the spirituality, glory, and inner application of the salvation contained in the forms of theocratic order, and hence its aim and perfect realization, but in the sense that the New Testament Church or theocracy represents and offers perfectly what the Old Testament Church represented and offered only imperfectly. The Christian Church is regarded, not as the abolition of the Old Testament theocracy, but as its heir—a potentialized theocracy, as it were—which in content and range completes the Old Testament theocracy, so far as it procures a perfect salvation and embraces all nations."*

The service of the Lord's day was looked on as a meritorious work in itself. It aimed indeed at the edification of the worshiper; but this result was to be accomplished, not through the operation of divine truth upon the mind and heart, but *ex opere operato* through the service and sacraments. The sermon, which had formerly been very prominent, gradually received less attention, and finally disappeared entirely from public worship. Divine grace was im-

* Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes, p. 61.

parted objectively; and the spiritual life was sustained, not by the ethical influence of the Word and Spirit, but by the magical efficacy of the ritual act and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

It was under these circumstances—in the midst of erroneous doctrine and low spiritual condition—that the Church developed “extraordinary wealth of forms and material, an indescribable fullness of beauty.” In the Apostolic Church each congregation had the right to determine its own form of worship. But with the centralizing tendency of the Church, and the establishment of the several patriarchates, this freedom was greatly restricted. Within each patriarchate there was an effort to secure uniformity of ritual. According to Neale,* the primitive liturgies may be divided into five principal families: 1. That of St. James, or Jerusalem; 2. That of St. Mark, or Alexandria; 3. That of St. Thaddeus, or the East; 4. That of St. John, or Ephesus; 5. That of St. Peter, or Rome. All these families, except that of St. Peter, or Rome, are characterized as Eastern Liturgies, and have a general likeness. They are extremely long, and have a symbolical and dramatic character, which distinguishes them from the Western liturgies, which are purely sacrificial. Furthermore, the Eastern liturgies have a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit, without which the transmutation of the elements is not considered complete. Unlike the Western liturgies, they do not have varying collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and have only a single preface, which is used on all occasions.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom belongs to the St. James or Jerusalem family, and is the normal liturgy of the Eastern Church. “That of St. Basil is said on all Sundays of Lent, (except Palm Sunday), Maundy Thursday, Easter Eve, the Vigils of Christmas and Epiphany, and the feast of St. Basil (Jan. 1). That of St. James is said in some of the Greek islands on the festival of the saint. That of St. Mark has been obsolete since the time of Theodore Balsa-

* Primitive Liturgies, p. 11.

mon. This prelate, a complete oriental Ultramontane, was for squaring everything according to 'the most straitest' rule of the Great Church; and procured the abolition of this liturgy, more venerable than his own, just as Rome has abolished, and is still abolishing, the national liturgies of other churches."*

The dramatic character of the Eastern liturgies deserves to be considered a little more fully. They set forth in significant acts the whole work of redemption, beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the ascension of our Lord. They are, thus, elaborately spectacular. The service of Sunday represents but a part of the entire liturgical drama, which really begins with the vesper service of the evening before. It would be tedious and profitless to consider the symbolism of the whole service; but the following mystical interpretations will serve for illustration: "The bishop who is about to celebrate, descending from the throne in which he has been stationed, figures the condescension of God the Son to us. And having put on the stole, he figures the Lord's most holy incarnation; and going out to the gates of the temple, his presence and manifestation on earth, even till his death and descent into hell. This is signified by the priest going towards the west and as far as the church doors . . . By the Psalms, the prediction of the incarnation of the Word to those of old time is set forth: by the hymnody which follows, the perfect completion of grace is typified to the bystanders, and the Son of God incarnate, and all the things which he worked for our sakes . . . But when the bishop has finished his holy prayers without the bema, the deacons stand by him, who typify, not only the Apostles, but also the angels, who minister also in the mysteries of Christ. But when the priests within the bema have also finished their own prayers, and come forth, the descent of the holy angels, which took place in the ascension of Christ, is signified. And when the torches are borne forth, and the deacons advance by two and two, and the Holy

* Neale, *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 20.

Gospel is carried in procession, and the bishop supported on either side by deacons, advances, and the other priests follow behind . . . the resurrection and ascension of the Saviour is shadowed forth . . . But the bishop is a type of the Lord himself made manifest to the disciples, and taken up from earth to heaven. Wherefore the whole of the exterior nave is a type of the earth; and the most holy place represents heaven . . . But when the celebrant has entered and censed the holy table around, the advent of the Holy Ghost is signified by him.”* And so on throughout the entire liturgy.

From the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which is now given, the service of the *prothesis*, which is concerned with the preparation of the elements, is omitted. It covers ten pages.

THE LITURGY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

Deacon. Sir, give the blessing.

Priest. Blessed be the kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

Deacon. In peace let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy: (*and so at the end of every petition following.*)

Deacon. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the holy churches of God, and the union of all, let us make, etc.

For this holy house, and them that in faith, piety, and the fear of God enter into it, let us, etc.

For our archbishop N.; the venerable presbytery, the diaconate in Christ, all the clergy and the laity, let us, etc.

* This explanation of the service is given by Symeon of Thessalonica—a man of the highest character for learning and piety—who died in 1429. It is quoted by Neale in his *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 21.

For our most pious and divinely preserved kings, all their palace and their army, let us, etc.

That he would fight on their side, and subdue every enemy and adversary under their feet, let us, etc.

For this holy abode, the whole city and country, and them that inhabit it in faith, let us, etc.

For healthfulness of air, plenty of the fruits of the earth, and peaceful times, let us, etc.

For them that voyage, that journey, that are sick, that labor, that are in bonds, and their safety, let us, etc.

That we may be preserved from all tribulations, wrath, danger, and necessity, let us, etc.

Assist, preserve, pity, and protect us, O God, by thy grace.

Commemorating the all-holy, spotless, excellently laudable, and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, with all saints, let us commend ourselves and each other, and all our life, to Christ our God.

Choir. To thee, O Lord.

Priest (aloud). For all glory, worship, and honor befits thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

The first Antiphon is sung by the choir, and the priest says the prayer of the first Antiphon. The deacon, having made a reverence, leaves his place, and goes and stands before the icon of the Mother of God, looking towards the icon of Christ, taking hold of the Orarion with three fingers of his right hand.

First Antiphon.

Versicle. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.

By the intercession of the Mother of God.

Versicle. One day telleth another: and one night certifieth another.

By the intercession of the Mother of God.

Versicle. There is neither speech nor language: but their voices are heard among them.

By the intercession of the Mother of God.

Versicle. Their sound is gone out unto all lands: and their words unto the end of the world.

By the intercession of the Mother of God.

For to thee belongeth all glory, honor, and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end.

By the intercession of the Mother of God.

Prayer of the First Antiphon.

Lord our God, of boundless might, and incomprehensible glory, and measureless compassion, and ineffable love to man, look down, O Lord, according to thy tender love, on us, and on this holy house, and show to us, and to them that pray with us, the riches of thy mercies and compassions.

And after the Antiphon hath been sung, the deacon comes and stands in the accustomed place, adores and says:

Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Assist, preserve, pity, and protect us, O God.

Commemorating the all-holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, etc. (*as before.*)

Exclamation. For thine is the strength, and thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

In like manner the choir sing the second Antiphon. The deacon doth the same as in the former prayer.

Second Antiphon.

Versicle. The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee.

Save us, O good Paraclete, who chant to thee Alleluia.

Versicle. Send thee help from the sanctuary; and strengthen thee out of Zion.

Save us, O good Paraclete, who chant to thee Alleluia.

Versicle. Remember all thy offerings; and accept thy burnt sacrifice.

Save us, O good Paraclete, who chant to thee Alleluia.

For to thee belongeth all glory, honor, and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and forever, world without end.

Prayer of the Second Antiphon.

Lord, our God, save thy people, and bless thy inheritance; guard the fullness of thy Church: hallow them that love the beauty of thy house. Glorify them in recompense with thy divine power: and forsake not them that put their trust in thee.

Deacon. Again and again, in peace, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Assist, preserve, pity, and protect us, O God.

Commemorating the all-holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, etc. (*as before.*)

Exclamation. For thou art the good God, and the Lover of men, and to thee we ascribe glory, honor and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

The prayer of the Third Antiphon.

Thou, who hast given us grace, at this time, with one accord, to make our common supplications unto thee: and dost promise that, when two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests: fulfill now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them: granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come, life everlasting.

And while the third Antiphon is being sung by the choir, or, if it be Sunday, the Beatitudes, when they come to the doxology, the priest and deacon make three reverences before the holy table. Then the priest, taking the holy Gospel, giveth it to the deacon: and thus going through the north portion of the sanctuary, preceded by lamps, they make the Little Entrance.

Third Antiphon.

Versicle. The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord : exceedingly glad shall he be in thy salvation.

Blessed art thou, Christ our God.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire : and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

Blessed art thou, Christ our God.

Versicle. For thou shalt prevent him with the blessings of goodness ; and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

Blessed art thou, Christ our God.

Versicle. He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him a long life ; even for ever and ever.

Blessed be thou, Christ our God.

*Isodicon.** Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength : so will we sing and praise thy power.

Save us, O good Paraclete, who sing to thee Alleluia.

Deacon (in a low voice). Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Priest secretly saith the Prayer of the Entrance.

Master, Lord, and our God, who hast disposed in heaven troops and armies of angels and archangels, for the ministry of thy glory : grant that with our entrance there may be an entrance of holy angels, ministering together with us, and with us glorifying thy goodness.

For to thee is due all honor, glory, and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

The prayer being finished, the deacon pointing with his right hand to the East, and holding his Orarion with three fingers, saith to the priest :

Sir, bless the holy Entrance.

Priest. Blessed be the entrance of thy saints, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Then the deacon thus going to the Hegumen, if any be

* The anthem accompanying the Little Entrance ; or the bringing in of the Gospel from the Prothesis.

present, who kisseth the Gospel; but if none be present, the priest kisseth it.

And when the Troparia are ended, the deacon comes forth into the middle, and standing before the priest, raiseth his hands a little, and showing the holy Gospel, saith with a loud voice,

Wisdom, stand up.

Then he himself adores, and the priest behind him: and they both go to the holy bema, and the deacon puts down the holy Gospel, on the holy table, and the choir sing the accustomed Troparia, and when they are singing the last, the deacon saith:

Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Priest. For holy art thou, our God; and we ascribe glory to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and forever.

Deacon. And to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

The Choir sing the Trisagion.

Holy God, Holy and mighty, Holy and immortal, have mercy upon us. (*Five times.*)

In the meantime the priest saith secretly the prayer of the Trisagion.

God, which art holy, and retest in the holies, who art hymned with the voice of the Trisagion by the Seraphim, and glorified by the Cherubim, and adored by all the heavenly powers; thou who didst from nothing call all things into being; who didst make man after thy likeness and image, and didst adorn him with all thy graces; who givest to him that seeketh wisdom and understanding, and passest not by the sinner, but dost give repentance unto salvation; who hast vouchsafed that we, thy humble and unworthy servants, should stand even at this time before the glory of thy holy altar, and should pay to thee the worship and praise that is meet: receive, Lord, out of the mouth of sinners the hymn of the Trisagion, and visit us in thy goodness. Forgive us every offense, voluntary and involuntary. Sanctify

our souls and bodies, and grant that we may serve thee in holiness all the days of our life; through the intercession of the holy Mother of God, and all the saints who have pleased thee since the beginning of the world. (*Aloud.*) For holy art thou, our God, and to thee be glory, etc.

When this prayer is finished, the priest also and deacon say the Trisagion, making a reverence at the same time before the holy table. Then the deacon saith to the priest:

Sir, give the order. *And they go towards the throne.*

And the priest saith as he goes:

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Deacon. Sir, bless the throne.

Priest. Blessed art thou upon the throne of thy glory, who sittest upon the Cherubim, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And when the choir have finished the Trisagion, the deacon, coming before the holy doors, saith:

Let us attend.

Reader. Alleluia.

Deacon. Wisdom.

The reader saith the Prokimenon of the Apostle, e. g., on the festival of St. Demetrius.*

The righteous shall rejoice in the Lord.

Versicle. Hear, O God, my voice.

Deacon. Let us attend.

The Apostle is read.

And the Apostle being ended, the priest saith:

Peace be to thee.

Reader. Alleluia.

While the Alleluia is being sung, the deacon goes to the priest, and after asking for a blessing from him, censes the holy table in a circle, and the whole sanctuary, and the priest. And the priest saith the prayer before the Gospel.

O Lord and Lover of men, cause the pure light of thy divine knowledge to shine forth in our hearts, and open the

*A short anthem before the Epistle, consisting of a verse and response.

eyes of our understanding, that we may comprehend the precepts of thy Gospel. Plant in us also the fear of thy blessed commandments, that we, trampling upon all carnal lusts, may seek a heavenly citizenship, both saying and doing always such things as shall well please thee. For thou art the illumination of our souls and bodies, Christ our God; and to thee we ascribe glory, etc.

And the deacon drawing nigh to the priest, and laying aside his censer, and bowing to the priest and holding the Orarion with the holy Gospel with the tips of his fingers, in the place of the holy table whereupon it lies, saith:

Sir, bless the preacher of the holy Apostle and Evangelist N.

And the priest, signing him with the cross, saith:

God, through the preaching of the holy and glorious Apostle and Evangelist N., give the word with much power to thee who evangelizest, to the accomplishment of the Gospel of his beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

Deacon. Amen.

And having adored with reverence the holy Gospel, he takes it up; and going through the holy doors, preceded by tapers, he stands in the ambon, or in the appointed place. And the priest, standing before the holy table and looking towards the west, saith with a loud voice:

Wisdom, stand up; let us hear the holy Gospel. Peace to all.

Deacon. The lection of the holy Gospel according to N.

Priest. Let us attend.

The Gospel is read.

When it is finished, the priest saith to the deacon:

Peace be to thee that evangelizest.

And the deacon going to the holy doors, returns the holy Gospel to the priest; and standing in the accustomed place, begins thus:

Let us all say with our whole heart and soul.

Choir. Lord, have mercy. (Thrice.)

Lord Almighty, God of our fathers, we pray thee, hear, and have mercy upon us.

Have mercy upon us, O God, after thy great goodness: we pray thee hear, and have mercy upon us.

*Prayer of the Ectene.**

Lord our God, we pray thee to receive this intense supplication from thy servants, according to the multitude of thy mercy, and send down thy compassion upon us, and upon all thy people, which is expecting the rich mercy that is from thee.

Deacon. Further we pray for pious and orthodox Christians.

People. Lord, have mercy. (*And so at the end of every petition.*)

Further, we pray for our archbishop N.

Further, we pray for our brethren, priests, monks, and all our brotherhood in Christ.

Further, we pray for the blessed and ever memorable founders of this holy abode, and for all our fathers and brethren that have fallen asleep before us, and lie here, and the orthodox that lie everywhere.

Further, we pray for mercy, life, peace, health, safety, protection, forgiveness, and remission of sins of the servants of God, the brethren of this holy habitation.

Further, we pray for them that bring forth fruit and do good deeds in this holy and all-venerable temple, that labor, that sing, and for the people that stand around, and are expecting the great and rich mercy that is from thee.

Exclamation. For thou art the merciful God and the lover of men, and to thee we ascribe glory, honor, and worship, etc.

Deacon. Catechumens, pray unto the Lord. Let us, the faithful, pray for the catechumens, that the Lord may have mercy upon them, and may teach them the word of truth.

People. Lord, have mercy. (*And so at the end of each petition.*)

* A kind of Litany.

That he may reveal to them the Gospel of righteousness.

That he may unite them to his holy catholic and Apostolic Church.

Preserve, have mercy, support, and continually guard them, O God.

Catechumens, bow your heads to the Lord.

Prayer of the Catechumens Before the Holy Oblation.

Lord our God, who dwellest on high, and beholdest the humble, who didst send forth the salvation of the race of man, thine only begotten Son, our God and Lord Jesus Christ, look down upon thy servants, the catechumens, who have bowed their necks unto thee, and make them worthy, in due season, of the laver of regeneration, of the forgiveness of sins, of the robe of immortality; unite them to thy holy catholic and Apostolic Church, and number them together with thy elect flock. (*Aloud.*) That they also, together with us, may glorify thy honorable and majestic name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

*The Priest unfolds the Corporal.**

EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS.

Deacon. Let all the catechumens depart; catechumens, depart; let all the catechumens depart; let not any of the catechumens, let all the faithful, stay.

Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the Lord. (*And he saith the short Ectene, while the priest saith secretly.*)

The First Prayer of the Faithful, after the Unfolding of the Corporal.

We yield thee thanks, Lord God of Sabaoth, who hast thought us worthy to stand even now at thy altar, and to fall

* A fine linen cloth used to cover the sacred elements in the Eucharist, or in which the sacrament is put.

down before thy mercies, for our sins and the ignorances of thy people; receive, O God, our supplications; make us worthy to offer to thee supplications and prayers and unbloody sacrifices for all thy people; and strengthen us, whom thou hast placed in this thy ministry, with the strength of the Holy Ghost, that we may without offense, and without scandal, in the pure testimony of our conscience, call upon thee in every time and place; that hearing us thou mayest be merciful to us in the multitude of thy goodness.

Deacon. Assist, preserve, pity, etc.

WISDOM.

Priest. (Exclamation). For to thee belongeth all glory, honor, and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Deacon. Again and again in peace let us make our supplications to the Lord. (*And he saith the short Ectene; while the priest saith secretly.*)

The Second Prayer of the Faithful.

Again and oftentimes we fall down before thee, and beseech thee, O good God and Lover of men, that thou wouldst look upon our prayers, purify our souls and bodies from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and grant that our standing before thy holy altar may be irreprehensible and unblamable. Grant, O Lord, to them who pray together with us, advance in holy life, wisdom, and spiritual understanding: grant them at all times with fear and love to serve thee irreprehensibly; and without condemnation to partake of thy holy mysteries, and to be thought worthy of thy heavenly kingdom.

Deacon. Assist, preserve, pity, etc.

WISDOM.

Priest. (Exclamation.) That, being ever guarded by thy

might, we may ascribe glory to thee; Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

The Choir sing the Cherubic Hymn.

Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares, that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Prayer which the priest saith secretly, while the Cherubic Hymn is being sung.

None is worthy among them that are bound with fleshly desires and pleasures to approach thee, nor to draw near or to sacrifice unto thee, King of Glory; for to minister unto thee is great and fearful, even to the heavenly powers themselves. Yet through thine ineffable and measureless love, thou didst unchangeably and immutably become man, and didst take the title of our High Priest, and didst give to us the hierurgy of this liturgic and unbloody sacrifice, as being Lord of all: for thou only, O Lord our God, rulest over things in heaven and things on earth, and who sittest upon the cherubic throne, Lord of Seraphim, and King of Israel, only holy, and resting in the holies. On thee I importunately call; thou art only good and ready to hear; look upon me, a sinner, and thine unworthy servants, and cleanse my soul and heart from an evil conscience; and strengthen, with the might of thy Holy Ghost, me that have been endued with the grace of the priesthood, that I may stand by this thy holy altar, and sacrifice thy holy and spotless body and precious blood. For thee I approach bowing my neck, and pray of thee, turn not thy face away from me, nor reject me from the number of thy sons; but condescend that these gifts may be offered to thee by me, a sinner and thine unworthy servant. For thou art he that offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ our God; and to thee we ascribe glory, honor, worship, etc.

When this prayer is finished, they also say the Cherubic Hymn. Then the deacon, taking the censer, and putting incense upon it, goes to the priest; and after receiving a blessing from him, censes the holy table in a circle, and all the sanctuary, and the priest; and he saith the fifty-first Psalm, and other penitential Troparia, such as he will, with the priest. And they go to the Prothesis, the deacon preceding. And the deacon having censed the holy things, and said to himself,

God be merciful to me, a sinner, *saith to the priest,*
Sir, lift up.

And the priest raising the Air, puts it on the left shoulder of the deacon, saying:*

Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and bless the Lord.

Then, taking the holy disk, he puts it with all care and reverence on the deacon's head, the deacon also holding the censer with one of his fingers. And the priest himself taking the holy chalice in his hands, they go through the north part, preceded by tapers, and make

THE GREAT ENTRANCE,†

both praying for all, and saying:

The Lord God remember us all in his kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And the deacon, going within the holy doors, stands on the right hand; and when the priest is about to enter in, he saith to him:

The Lord God remember thy priesthood in his kingdom.

Priest. The Lord God remember thy diaconate in his kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And the priest sets down the chalice on the holy table, and taking the holy disk from the head of the deacon, he places it there also, saying:

Honorable Joseph took thy spotless body from the cross,

* The fine veil which lies over the paten and chalice.

† The carrying of the Elements from the Prothesis to the Altar—the most imposing ceremony of the Eastern Church.

and wrapped it in clean linen with spices, and with funeral rites placed it in a new tomb.

In the grave bodily, in Hades spiritually, as God, with the thief in paradise as in a throne, wast thou, O Christ, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, who art incircumscrip̄t and fillest all things.

How life-giving, how more beautiful than paradise, and verily more splendid than any royal chamber, is thy tomb, O Christ, the fountain of our resurrection.

Then, taking the coverings from the holy disk and the holy chalice, he places them on one part of the holy table; and taking the Air from the deacon's shoulder, and censuring it, he covers with it the holy things, saying:

Honorable Joseph took thy spotless body from the cross and wrapped it in clean linen with spices, and with funeral rites placed it in a new tomb.

And taking the censer from the deacon's hands, he censeth the holy things thrice, saying:

Then shall they offer young bullocks upon thy altar.

And putting down the censer, and letting fall his phelonion, and bowing his head, he saith to the deacon:*

Remember me, brother and fellow-minister.

Deacon. The Lord God remember thy priesthood in his kingdom.

Then the deacon also himself slightly bowing his head, and holding his Orarion with the three fingers of his right hand, saith to the priest:

Holy Sir, pray for me.

Priest. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee.

Deacon. The same spirit shall be fellow-minister with us all the days of our life.

And again. Holy Sir, remember me.

Priest. The Lord God remember thee in his kingdom, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Deacon. Amen.

* The Eastern chasuble.

And having kissed the priest's hand, he goes out, and standing in the customary place, saith:

Let us accomplish our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Kyrie eleison. (And so at the end of each suffrage.)

Deacon. For the precious gifts that have been proposed, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

For this holy house, and them that with faith, reverence, and the fear of God, enter into it, let us make our supplications to the Lord.

That we may be delivered from all afflictions, passion, danger, and necessity, let us make, etc.

Assist, preserve, pity, etc.

That the whole day may be perfect, holy, peaceful, without sin, let us ask from the Lord.

Choir. Grant, O Lord. *(And so at the end of every suffrage.)*

Deacon. For the angel of peace, faithful guide, guardian of our souls and bodies, let us make, etc.

For pardon and remission of our sins and transgressions, let us make, etc.

For things that are good and profitable for our souls, and peace to the world, let us make, etc.

That we may accomplish the remainder of our lives in peace and penitence, let us make, etc.

Christian ends of our lives, without torment, without shame, peaceful, and a good defense at the fearful tribunal, let us ask from Christ.

Commemorating the all-holy, . . . glorious Lady, etc.

As this Ectene is being said, the priest saith secretly the prayer of oblation, after the divine gifts are placed on the holy table.

Lord, God Almighty, only Holy, who receivest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplication of us sinners, and cause it to approach to thy holy altar and enable us to present gifts to thee, and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and for the

errors of the people; and cause us to find grace in thy sight, that this our sacrifice may be acceptable unto thee, and that the good Spirit of thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto thee, and upon all thy people.

Priest. (Exclamation.) Through the mercies of thine only begotten Son, with whom thou art to be blessed, and with the all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Peace to all.

Deacon. Let us love one another, that we may with one mind confess.

Choir. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity.

And the priest having thrice adored, kisses the holy gifts as they lie veiled, saying secretly thrice:

I will love thee, O Lord my strength; the Lord is my stony rock and my defense.

If there be two or more priests, each kisses the holy things, and then each other on the shoulder, saying:

Christ is among us.

He is and will be.

In like manner also the deacon adores thrice where he stands, and kisses his Orarion on its cross, and thus exclaims:

The doors, the doors; let us attend in wisdom.

People. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty (*with the rest of the Nicene Creed*).

Deacon. Stand we well: stand we with fear: let us attend to offer the holy oblation in peace.

Choir. The mercy of peace, the sacrifice of praise.

And the deacon adores, and comes to the holy bema; and taking the fan, fans the oblation reverently.

And the priest taking the Air from the holy gifts, lays it on one side, saying:

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God

the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

Choir. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift we up our hearts.

Choir. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

Choir. It is meet and right to worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity.

Priest. It is meet and right to hymn thee, to bless thee, to praise thee, to give thanks to thee, to worship thee, in every part of thy dominion. For thou art God, ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, the same from everlasting to everlasting; thou, and thine only begotten Son, and the Holy Ghost. For thou broughtest us forth to being from nothing, and when we had fallen didst raise us up again, and gavest not over until thou hadst done every thing that thou mightest bring us to Heaven, and bestow upon us thy kingdom to come. For all these things we give thanks to thee, and to thine only begotten Son, and thy Holy Ghost, for thy benefits which we know and which we know not, manifest and concealed, which thou hast bestowed upon us. We give thee thanks also for this ministry which thou hast vouchsafed to receive at our hands: although there stand by thee thousands of archangels, and ten thousands of angels, the Cherubim, and the Seraphim that have six wings, and are full of eyes, and soar aloft on their wings, singing, vociferating, shouting, and saying the triumphal hymn:

Choir. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.

*Then the deacon taking the asterisk * from the holy desk, signs it with the sign of the cross, and having saluted it, replaces it.*

* This is a folding frame used to prevent the veil or air from disarranging the portions of bread.

Priest. We also with these blessed powers, Lord and Lover of men, cry and say, holy art thou and all-holy, thou and thine only begotten Son, and thine Holy Ghost. Holy art thou and all-holy, and great is the majesty of thy glory: who didst so love thy world, as to give thine only begotten Son, that whoso believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life: who having come, and having fulfilled for us all the dispensation, in the night wherein he was betrayed, or rather surrendered himself for the life of the world, took bread in his holy and pure and spotless hands, and gave thanks, and blessed, and hallowed, and brake, and gave to his holy disciples and Apostles, saying (*aloud*), Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins.

Choir. Amen.

Priest. (*In a low voice.*) Likewise after supper he took the cup, saying (*aloud*), Drink ye all of this: this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.

Choir. Amen.

Priest. (*In a low voice.*) We therefore remembering this salutary precept, and all that happened on our behalf, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the session on the right hand, the second and glorious coming again (*aloud*), in behalf of all, and for all, we offer thee thine own of thine own.

Choir. Thee we hymn, thee we praise: to thee we give thanks, Lord, and pray to thee, our God.

Priest. (*In a low voice.*) Moreover we offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice: and beseech thee and pray and supplicate; send down thy Holy Ghost * upon us, and on these proposed gifts.

The deacon lays down the veil, and goes nearer to the

* According to the doctrine of the Eastern Church, it is at the moment of this invocation that the bread and wine are changed or transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ.

priest, and they both adore thrice before the holy table, praying secretly, saying:

God be merciful to me a sinner.

Then

Lord, who didst send down thy Holy Ghost the third hour on the Apostles, take him not from us, O good God, but renew him in us who pray to thee :

Then

Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence.

Glory.

Blessed art thou, Christ our God, who didst fill the fishermen with all manner of wisdom, sending down upon them the Holy Ghost : and by them hast brought the whole world into thy net, O Lover of men : Glory be to thee, etc.

When the Highest came down and confounded the tongues, he divided the nations ; when he distributed the tongues of fire he called all to unity, and with one voice we praise the Holy Ghost.

Then the deacon bowing his head, and pointing with his Orarion to the holy bread, saith in a low voice:

Sir, bless the holy bread.

The priest standeth up, and thrice maketh the sign of the cross on the holy gifts, saying:

And make this bread the precious body of thy Christ.

Deacon. Amen. Sir, bless the holy cup.

Priest. And that which is in this cup, the precious blood of thy Christ.

Deacon. Amen. *And pointing with his Orarion to both the holy things.*

Sir, bless.

Priest. Changing them by thy Holy Ghost.

Deacon. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Then the deacon boweth his head to the priest, and saith:

Holy Sir, remember me a sinner.

Then he stands in his former place, and taking the fan, fans the oblation as before.

Priest. So that they may be to those that participate, for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Ghost, fulfillment of the kingdom of heaven, boldness towards thee, and not to judgment nor to condemnation.

And further, we offer to thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith.

The deacon censens the holy table in a circle, and commemorates such of the living and dead as he will.

Priest. (Aloud.) Especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary.

Choir. In thee, O full of grace, all creation exults, the hierarchy of angels, and the race of men; in thee, sanctified temple, spiritual paradise, glory of virgins, of whom God took flesh; our God, that was before the world, became a child. For he made thy womb his throne, and rendered it more extended than the heavens. In thee, O full of grace, all creation exults; glory to thee.

*The deacon reads the Diptychs * of the departed.*

Priest. The holy John the prophet, forerunner, and baptist, the holy, glorious, and all celebrated Apostles, Saint N. (*the Saint of the day*), whose memory we also celebrate, and all thy saints, through whose prayers look down upon us, O God. And remember all those that are departed in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of thy countenance shines upon them. Furthermore, we beseech thee, remember, O Lord, every orthodox bishopric of those that rightly divide the Word of truth, the

* A diptych is a double catalogue, one part containing the names of the living, and the other those of deceased ecclesiastics and benefactors of the Church.

presbytery, the diaconate in Christ, and for every hierarchical order. Furthermore, we offer to thee this reasonable service for the whole world: for the holy catholic and Apostolic Church, and for them that live in chastity and holiness of life. For our most faithful kings, beloved of Christ, all their court and army. Grant to them, Lord, a peaceful reign, that we, in their peace, may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. (*Aloud.*) Chiefly, O Lord, remember our Archbishop N., whom preserve to thy holy Church in safety, in honor, in health, in length of days, and rightly dividing the Word of thy truth.

The deacon by the holy door saith,

N. the Patriarch, Metropolitan, or bishop (*as the case may be*).

Then he commemorates the Diptychs of the living.

Priest (secretly). Remember, Lord, the city in which we dwell, and every city and region and the faithful that inhabit it. Remember, Lord, them that voyage and travel, that are sick, that are laboring, that are in prison, and their safety. Remember, Lord, them that bear fruit, and do good deeds in thy holy churches, and that remember the poor. And send forth on us all the riches of thy compassion (*aloud*), and grant us with one mouth and one heart to glorify and celebrate thy glorious and majestic name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. And the mercies of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with all of us.

The deacon taking his time from the priest, and standing in the accustomed place, saith:

Commemorating all saints, again and again let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy. (*And so at the end of each petition.*)

Deacon. For the venerable gifts now offered before him and hallowed.

That our merciful God, the Lover of mankind, who hath received them unto his holy and heavenly and spiritual altar,

for the savor of a sweet spiritual scent, may in return send down on us his divine grace, and the gift of the Holy Ghost.

That we may be preserved from all affliction, wrath, etc. (*The deacon continuing the Ectene down to "Christian ends of life."*)

The priest meanwhile saith secretly:

To thee, O Lord and Lover of men, we commend in pledge all our life and our hope, and beseech and pray, and supplicate: make us worthy to partake of thy heavenly and terrible mysteries of this holy and spiritual table, with a pure conscience for the remission of sins, forgiveness of transgressions, participation of the Holy Ghost, inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, boldness of access to thee: not to judgment nor to condemnation.

Deacon. Having prayed for the enemies of the faith, and the participation of the Holy Ghost, let us commend ourselves and each other and all our life to Christ our God.

Priest (aloud). And make us worthy, O Lord, with boldness and without condemnation, to dare to call upon thee, our God and Father which art in heaven, and to say:

People. Our Father, which art in heaven, etc.

Priest. For thine is the kingdom.

Priest. Peace to all.

Deacon. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

Priest. We render thanks to thee, O King invisible, who hast framed all things by thy measureless power, and in the multitude of thy mercy hast brought all things into being from non-existence. Look down, O Lord, from heaven, upon them that have bowed their heads unto thee, for they bowed them not to flesh and blood, but to thee, the fearful God. Bestow, therefore, O Lord, on all of us an equal benefit from these offerings, according to the need of each: sail with them that sail, journey with them that journey, heal the sick, thou who art the physician of our souls and bodies.

(*Aloud.*) Through the grace, and mercy, and love to men, of thine only begotten Son, with whom, together with

the most holy, and good, and life-giving Spirit, thou art blessed, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Hear us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, out of thy holy dwelling place, and from the throne of the glory of thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, thou that sittest above with the Father, and art here invisibly present with us: and by thy mighty hand make us worthy to partake of thy spotless body and precious blood, and by us all thy people.

The priest and the deacons adore in the place where they stand, saying secretly thrice:

God be merciful to me a sinner.

And when the deacon sees the priest stretching forth his hands, and touching the holy bread, to make the holy elevation, he exclaims:

Let us attend.

And the priest, elevating the holy bread, exclaims:

Holy things for holy persons.*

Choir. One holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father.

And the Choir sing the Koinonicon:† e. g., on the festivals of the Apostles:

Their sound is gone out into all lands: and their words into the ends of the world.

The deacon then girds his Orarion crosswise, and goes into the holy bema, and standing on the right hand (the priest grasping the holy bread), saith:

Sir, break the holy bread.

And the priest, dividing it with care and reverence, saith:

The Lamb of God is broken and distributed; he that is broken and not divided in sunder; ever eaten and never consumed, but sanctifying the communicants.

And the deacon pointing with his Orarion to the holy cup, saith:

Sir, fill the holy cup.

* This exclamation, which is accompanied with the elevation of the Host, forms a part of all Eastern Liturgies.

† A versicle deriving its name from the communion, which it precedes.

And the priest taking the upper portion makes with it a cross above the holy cup, saying:

The fullness of the cup, of faith, of the Holy Ghost, and thus puts it into the holy cup.

Deacon. Amen.

And taking the warm water, he saith to the priest:

Sir, bless the warm water.

And the priest blesseth, saying:

Blessed is the fervor of thy saints, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

And the deacon pours forth a sufficiency into the holy cup, in the form of a cross, saying:

The fervor of faith, full of the Holy Ghost. (*Thrice.*)

Then setting down the warm water, he stands a little way off. And the priest, taking a particle of the holy bread, saith:

The blessed and most holy body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is communicated to me, N., priest, for the remission of my sins, and for everlasting life.

I believe, Lord, and confess.

Of thy mystic supper to-day.

Let not, O Lord, the communion of thy holy mysteries be to my judgment or condemnation, but to the healing of my soul and body.

And thus he partakes of that which is in his hands with fear and all caution. Then he saith:

Deacon, approach.

And the deacon approaches, and reverently makes an obeisance, asking forgiveness. And the priest, taking the holy bread, gives it to the deacon; and the deacon, kissing the hand that gives, saith:

Sir, make me partaker of the holy and precious body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Priest. N., the holy deacon, is made partaker of the precious and holy and spotless body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of his sins, and for eternal life.

And the deacon going behind the holy table, boweth his head and prayeth, and so doth the priest.

Then the priest standing up, takes the holy chalice with its covering in both hands, and drinks three times, saying,

I, N., priest, partake of the pure and holy blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of my sins, and for eternal life.

And then he wipes the holy cup and his own lips with the covering he has in his hands, and saith:

Behold, this hath touched my lips, and shall take away my transgressions, and purge my sins.

Then he calls the deacon, saying,

Deacon, approach.

The deacon comes and adoring once, saith:

Behold, I approach the immortal King.

I believe, Lord, and confess.

Priest. N., the deacon and servant of God, is made partaker of the precious and holy blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and for eternal life.

And when the deacon hath communicated, the priest saith:

Behold, this hath touched thy lips.

Then the deacon, taking the holy disk, and holding it over the holy chalice, wipes it thoroughly with the holy sponge; and with care and reverence covers it with the veil. In like manner he covers the disk with the asterisk, and that with its veil.

The priest saith the prayer of the Thanksgiving.

We yield thee thanks, O Lord and Lover of men, benefactor of our souls, that thou hast this day thought us worthy of thy heavenly and immortal mysteries. Rightly divide our path, confirm us all in thy fear, guard our life, make safe our goings: through the prayers and supplications of the glorious Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and all thy saints.

And thus they open the doors of the holy bema; and the deacon, having made one adoration, takes the chalice with

reverence, and goes to the door, and raising the holy chalice, shows it to the people, saying:

Approach with the fear of God, faith and love.

They who are to communicate draw near with all reverence, and hold their arms crossed on their breast; and the priest, as he distributes the mysteries to each, saith:

N., the servant of God, is made partaker of the pure and holy body and blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of his sins, and life everlasting.

Then the priest blesseth the people, saying aloud:

O God, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.

The deacon and the priest return to the holy table, and the priest censeth thrice, saying secretly,

Be thou exalted, Lord, above the heavens: and thy glory above all the earth.

Then, taking the holy disk, he puts it upon the head of the deacon, and the deacon taking it with reverence, and looking out towards the door, goes in silence to the prothesis, and puts it down: and the priest having made obeisance takes the holy chalice, and turns towards the door, saying secretly:

Blessed be our God: (then aloud) always, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

And the deacon having come out, and standing in the accustomed place, saith:

Standing upright, and having partaken of the divine, holy, spotless, immortal, heavenly, life-giving, and terrible mysteries of Christ, let us worthily give thanks to the Lord.

Assist, preserve, pity, etc.

That we may pass this whole day.

Exclamation. For thou art our sanctification, and to thee we ascribe glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

Choir. Amen.

Priest. Let us go on in peace.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Prayer behind the ambon, said aloud by the priest without the bema.

Lord, who blessest them that bless thee, and sanctifiest them that put their trust in thee, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: guard with care the fullness of thy Church: hallow those that love the beauty of thine house. Glorify them in return by thy divine might, and forsake not them that put their trust in thee; give thy peace to thy world, to thy churches, to our priests and kings; to the army, and to all thy people; because every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from thee, the Father of lights; and to thee we ascribe glory, etc.

This being ended the priest goes through the holy doors, and departs into the prothesis, and saith this prayer:

Thou, O Christ our God, who art thyself the fullness of the law and the prophets, who didst accomplish all the dispensation of thy Father, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, always, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Deacon. Let us make our supplications to the Lord.

Priest. The blessings of the Lord be upon you. *Then,* Glory to thee our God: Glory to thee.

People. Glory, worship, etc.

Then the deacon, also going through the north part, gathers together the holy things, with fear and all safety: so that not the very smallest particle should fall out, or be left: and he washes his hands in the accustomed place. And the priest goes forth, and gives the antidoron to the people. Then he goes into the holy bema, and puts off his priestly vestments, saying, Nunc dimittis, the Trisagion, and the other things. Then he saith the dismissory prayer of St. Chrysostom.*

The grace of thy lips, shining forth like a torch, illuminated the world, enriched the universe with the treasures of liberality, and manifested to us the height of humility: but do thou, our instructor, by thy words, Father John Chrysostom, intercede to the Word, Christ our God, that our souls may be saved.

Lord, have mercy. (*Twelve times.*)

* The Antidoron is the bread which has been offered for the Sacrament, but which was not required for consecration.

Glory, honor, and worship, etc.

Thee the more honorable than the Cherubim.

And he makes the dismissal: and having adored, and given thanks to God for all things, he departs.

We may sum up the leading features of this period as follows:

1. The complete establishment of the hierarchical and monarchical form of church government.
2. The universal acceptance of the sacerdotal character of the ministry.
3. The general acceptance of the sacrificial view of the Lord's Supper, and the great prominence given to this Sacrament.
4. The essential distinction made between religious and secular, and the general introduction of superstitious and idolatrous practices.
5. The degeneration of worship into an outward ceremony, which was looked upon as meritorious in itself, and in which edification was sought, not from the operation of divine truth upon the heart and mind, but through the magical efficacy of the liturgy and sacrament.
6. The disappearance of the sermon from worship, and the expansion of the liturgy into an imposing dramatic and symbolical ritual.

CHAPTER IV.

WORSHIP IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

(600-1517.)

IN depicting the worship of the Western Church during the Middle Ages, only general outlines can be given. It is a period of strong contrasts, of lights and shadows, of glory and degradation. On the one hand we have that flaming missionary zeal which gave the Gospel to the Germanic nations, who were to succeed Greece and Rome as standard-bearers in the world's grand march of progress. On the other hand we have reeking corruption among the clergy, and a long contest between Church and State, with the former finally victorious.

Heroic were the efforts made by individuals to reform the Church, but these efforts were rewarded with the ban, excommunication, and the stake. The times were not yet ripe for reformation. Huss was burned, and Wyclif's ashes were scattered on the seas.

The earnestness manifested by the laity and by individuals of the clergy during the Middle Ages excites our highest admiration. There was much error, superstition and ignorance. These were the Dark Ages. But these seemed to make religion only the more real. It was an age of faith—in German, *Aberglaube*. The spirit world stood out before the imagination of the people with terrible reality. They believed that good spirits, evil spirits, God, Satan, were round about them, that heaven and hell were nigh them.

It was an age of earnest purpose. "It is the will of God," said Peter the Hermit. "It is the will of God," responded nine millions of men, as they rushed to the Holy Land to snatch the Lord's sepulchre from the hand of the infidel.

It was an age of lofty conceptions. The great cathedrals,

their pillars soaring heavenward like the cedars of Lebanon, their star-lit canopies, their symbolic figures, their high altars, their images of saints, their tombs of the dead, represent the whole world transfigured into the kingdom of God, and testify by their magnificence and surpassing splendor to the pre-eminence and power of the Christian religion.

It was an age of poetic inspiration. It opened the fountain of sacred song, and brought forth those majestic hymns which even to-day awe and inspire, soften and thrill, the Christian heart. The sublimest of all the mediæval hymns is the "Dies Iræ" of Thomas De Celano, beginning:

"That day of wrath, that dreadful day
When heaven and earth shall pass away,"

while the most pathetic is the "Stabat Mater" of Jacobus de Benedictus, which begins:

"By the cross, sad vigil keeping,
Stood the mournful mother weeping."

Adam of St. Victor gave us,

"Be the Cross our theme and story;"

and Bernard of Morlas wrote "The Celestial Country," beginning:

"The world is very evil,
The times are waxing late,
Be sober and keep vigil:
The Judge is at the gate."

Robert, king of France, is said to have composed the "Veni Sancte Spiritus,"

"O Holy Ghost! Thou fire divine!
On us from highest heaven shine,"

while to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, we owe the hymn,

"Hail, thou Head, so bruised and wounded."

But these are only the points of light in the picture, which, by their very brightness, help to reveal the deep surrounding

darkness. This was the age of ecclesiasticism. The Church was no longer viewed as a community of saints, but as an outward organization, the property and possession of the clergy, with the pope at the head, claiming absolute authority over mankind.

Gregory VII., Alexander III. and Innocent III., beheld in the papal See the power destined to represent God upon the earth, to govern the souls and bodies of men, to rule princes and states. The state was not indeed abolished, but it was declared subservient to the papacy. "The world," said Gregory VII., "is governed by two lights—by the sun which is greater, and by the moon which is less. The Apostolic power is the sun; the royal power the moon. For as the latter has its light from the former, so do emperors, kings and princes receive power, through the pope, who receives it from God. Thus the power of the Roman Chair is greater than the power of the throne, and the king is subordinate to the pope, and is bound to obey him."*

In the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, Boniface VIII. declared: "The spiritual sword is to be used by the Church, but the carnal sword for the Church—the one in the hands of the priest, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the will and pleasure of the priest. It is right that the temporal sword and authority be subject to the spiritual power." It is well known that Henry IV., of Germany, stood in penitential garb at Canossa, and that John of England received his kingdom as a papal fief.

These centuries witnessed also the triumph of the sacerdotal idea. According to this idea the priesthood is distinguished from and raised above the laity in four particulars: 1. The priest mediates between God and the people; 2. He has power to change the bread and wine of the Sacrament into the body and blood of Christ; 3. He offers the sacrifice of the Mass for the sins of the living and the dead; 4. He has power to forgive sins. This doctrine denies the uni-

* This famous passage, as here given, is translated from Kohlrausch's *Deutsche Geschichte*.

versal priesthood of believers, and refuses to Christian communities the power to confer the ministerial office. The influence of such a doctrine on worship is apparent. It tends to take it away from the people and to make it wholly sacerdotal. And when this doctrine of the priesthood was added to the incredible superstition of the people, especially their view of God as an avenger who must be reconciled by the intercession of saints and the performance of meritorious works, worship, viewed on its subjective side, could no longer be praise, prayer and thanksgiving, but celebrations, pageants and gifts. Mosheim, writing of the eighth century, says: "The whole of religion or piety of this and some subsequent centuries, consisted in founding, enriching, embellishing, and enlarging churches and chapels, in hunting up and venerating the relics of holy men, in securing the patronage of saints with God by means of gifts and superstitious rites and ceremonies, in worshiping the images and statues of saints, in making pilgrimages to holy places, especially to Palestine. . . . The true religion of Jesus Christ, if we except the few doctrines contained in the Creed, was wholly unknown in this age, even to the teachers of the highest rank; and all orders of society from the highest to the lowest, neglecting the duties of true piety and the renovation of the heart, fearlessly gave themselves up to every vice and crime, supposing that God could easily be appeased and reconciled to them by the intercession and prayers of the saints and by the friendly offices of the priests, the ministers of God." *

But more than all was the shameless corruption of the clergy. The Vatican became the scene of unbelief, treachery and murder; and the dissolute entertainments given in the pontifical palace surpassed even the orgies of antiquity in licentiousness. The highest offices in the Church were purchased. Bishops led armies to the field of battle. Children were raised to the episcopal dignity. Profligate women ruled in the sacred Curia. Writing of the morality of the

* Eccles. Hist., II., p. 33.

clergy of a part of this period (1075-1305), Gieseler says: "The celibacy of the clergy, which was now constituted as an ecclesiastical ordinance of more general application than before, could not be fully established in several countries until the thirteenth century. But it introduced in its train a greater increase of the most shameless licentiousness, from the readiness of the bishops to overlook it. Besides that unchastity, which already made many thoughtful minds mistrustful of celibacy, utter worldliness and love of pleasure, avarice and simony, were the principal faults for which the clergy at this time were commonly rebuked with solemn earnestness, and upbraided with biting sarcasm." *

But besides the more general features of popular superstition, papal domination and sacerdotal corruption, there were three *fundamental errors* which still more powerfully affected the worship of the Middle Ages.

1. *The Scriptures were practically withdrawn from the people in favor of tradition.*

It was the policy of the early Church, both in the East and in the West, to give the Scriptures to the people in the vernacular. Jerome's Vulgate, completed in the early part of the fifth century, met the wants of the schools and of the learned in the Middle Ages, but it became unintelligible to the Romanic peoples when they began to form each its own distinct national tongue. Ulfilas' Gothic version of the fourth century had only a limited circulation among the Germanic nations, and was soon outgrown. The nations converted by Roman and Gallican missionary zeal received either the Roman or the Gallican sacramentary, which was in the Latin language. As a consequence, the peoples of the West for nearly a thousand years were left practically destitute of the chief means of grace, which is the Word of God. Preaching, which always goes hand-in-hand with Bible-reading and Bible-teaching, fell into comparative desuetude. As Kurtz and other historians tell us, the entire worship of the Church centered around the liturgy of the

* Eccles. Hist., II., p. 395.

Lord's Supper. The *Homiliarium*, ordered by Charlemagne, who recognized the great importance of preaching, did some good and much harm. It fostered an indolent, ignorant and incompetent clergy. The people generally left the Church when the homily began. The Mass and other ceremonies which appealed to the senses gained the upper hand, while the instruction and intelligence of the common people died out. Of what was called preaching very much was about the Virgin and saints and relics, and the recital of the legends and traditions of the Church, many of which were of recent origin. Among the traditions of recent origin, the one which most affected the worship of the Church was that of the change of the elements in the Lord's Supper. When in the ninth century Paschasius enounced the doctrine of Transubstantiation, he was thought to oppose tradition. In the eleventh century, the doctrine was declared to be an old tradition. When the doctrine was authoritatively promulgated in 1215, the last condition was supplied for a spectacular and sensuous worship. When the priest consecrated the elements and raised them above his head, the people rendered them divine honors. The didactic element almost completely disappeared from public worship. The Word and the preaching of the Word yielded to tradition. Worship became an elaborate service of the priests.

2. *The Church occupied a false position in regard to salvation.*

The early Church had placed the essence of Christianity in renovation of life, John iii. 3, 5, 6. The Church of the Middle Ages placed it in fidelity to the Church itself. Only he could be saved who was lawfully united with the Church, because only the Church had the alone-saving Word and sacraments, and only her priests, by virtue of their divine ordination, could validly administer the means of grace. *Extra Ecclesiam, Nulla Salus*. But the *Ecclesia* was the *Ecclesia Romana*. Only he was lawfully united with that *Ecclesia*, who accepted all her dogmas and obeyed all her behests. "In short," says Kahnis, "they alone could obtain

salvation who were faithful vassals of the external Church. While the external Church was thus interposing itself and its legal ordinances between Christ and the individual, man was not justified by faith alone, but by faith and the legal works which the Church imposed upon him. And what was this but a manifest relapse into Judaism? The Church had become a legally ordered divine authority, which did not suffer the individual man to become the individual child of God through faith in Christ, but degraded him into a servile instrument of her forms and aims." *

The calendar of saints and of festival days was enlarged beyond all reason. The priests were required to exhort the people from the pulpit on Sunday to observe "the holy seasons and days which have fallen to us this week, and to honor them with prayer, fasting, alms-giving, attendance at Church, Mass, hearing sermons, and all other good words and works, as you desire that the holy saints shall be your intercessors and mediators before the Almighty God." Such is the language of the *Manuale Curatorum* of the Middle Ages, as quoted by Dr. Plitt in his *Einleitung in die Augustana*, II., p. 384.

Christ was practically forgotten or ignored. Salvation was linked to the supposed divinely appointed order of the Church. Worship was little else than the formal execution of that order. In all its parts it was essentially a doing and giving unto God for reconciliation. The Church, led by the Holy Ghost, it was said, had canonized the saints and had constituted the divine order of worship. It was necessary to salvation to believe what she taught, to do what her priests prescribed, to die under her benediction.

3. *The Church maintained an anti-Evangelical spirit.*

The freedom of the New Testament was sacrificed to the legalism of the Old Testament. Moses was substituted for Christ. The Jewish altar was erected in the Christian Church. The one High Priest who entered *once* into the Holy place and obtained eternal redemption, was displaced

* The Mediæval Church, p. 152.

by the multitude of priests who needed daily to offer up sacrifice. The divine Head of the Church, who had purchased the Church with his own blood, was exchanged for a human head which drank the blood of the martyrs. The worship of the supreme God was extended to a pantheon of saints.

Thus the spirit of the Church became both Judaic and heathenish. "It was objectively Judaic in the hierarchical form of the Church, which, with its high priest at Rome, its priests who gave themselves out as mediators, its times and places regarded as holy in themselves, its sacrifice upon the altar, had become the Old Testament theocracy; subjectively so in the legality and formality which everywhere prevailed. It was heathenish in the creature worship which prevailed in the adoration of the Virgin, saints and relics, in the exaltation of ecclesiastical dogmas and ordinances to the revelations of the Holy Spirit, and in the adoration of the pope as the vicegerent of Christ." *

This brief sketch will serve to show the conditions and doctrines which determined the liturgical usages of the Middle Ages. Spiritual worship gave place to outward ceremonies,—to elaborate Mass-rituals in the sanctuary, as elsewhere to all kinds of bodily exercises which have but little connection with moral and religious character. The liturgies themselves in use in the Western Church during the Middle Ages, will now be described.

The liturgies of the Western Church are divided into three classes: (1) The Ephesine, which may be traced to the Ephesian Church, and includes the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies. (2) The Ambrosian, which is a mixture of the Ephesine and Petrine. (3) The Petrine, or that of Rome, which the Roman Catholic Church traces to St. Peter.

I. THE EPHESINE CLASS.

1. *The Gallican Liturgy.* Very early, probably in Apos-

* Kahnis, *The Mediæval Church*, p. 153.

tolic times, missionaries had gone from Ephesus and had planted Christianity in Lyons, which for a long time was the centre of the Gallican Church. Correspondence with the mother church of Ephesus was kept up for generations, and of course the worship was modeled after that of Ephesus. Hence it is Johannean or Pauline as distinguished from Petrine. But the Gallican Liturgy, like all other rituals of the ancient Church, received many additions from time to time. It is impossible to tell what the form of worship was in Gaul in the second and third centuries. It must have been very simple, as was Christian worship generally at that time. Musæus, Sidonius and Hilary († 368) made various additions to it, and the latter brought it pretty much into its final form. It was also much influenced by the Roman Liturgy, and was finally suppressed by Charlemagne about the beginning of the ninth century by an edict that all priests should celebrate Mass according to the Roman rite. It had been supposed that no copies of the ancient Gallican Liturgy were in existence, until the discovery of three MSS. which were published by Cardinal Thomasius at Rome in 1680. These had belonged to the monastery of Fleury, and had found their way to the Vatican in 1563. In 1685 they were re-edited by Mabillon, together with a Gallican lectionary which had been discovered by him in the monastery of Luxien. But one of the most important liturgical discoveries of modern times was that of Francis Joseph Mone, librarian at Carlsruhe. It consists of fragments of eleven Gallican Mass-formularies from a codex rescriptus of the former cloister of Reichenau. These are older than those previously known. Mone edited these fragments with a learned commentary under the title: *Lateinische und Griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert*; Frankfort am Main, 1850. Mone's conclusions in regard to the age of these MSS. have been much disputed, though they are undoubtedly very old.

The Gallican Liturgy is of great historical value. It is the basis of the Mozarabic or Spanish Liturgy, and of those of

Germany and England in the earlier and Middle Ages. Germany received Christianity mainly from France, hence also its form of worship with local adaptations, which was the rule of liturgical construction in the early ages. The Bamberg, Mainz and other German missals bear marks of Gallican influence. In very early Christian times there was close intimacy between the Christians of France and those of England. When Augustine came to England (596) he found a Christian service very different from that of Rome. This he revised, not directly from the Gregorian rite, but "from a sister rite formed in the south of France by the joint action probably of St. Leo and Cassian about two hundred years before (420), having a common basis indeed with the Roman office, but strongly tinged with Gallican characteristics derived long ago from the East, and probably enriched at the time by fresh importations of oriental usages." *

This old English rite was revised after the Norman Conquest by Bishop Osmund (1085), and became the Sarum or Salisbury Use, which in turn became the basis of the present English Book of Common Prayer. It is in this way that the English delight to trace their liturgy to St. John or St. Paul. But it is only in the simple elements of Christian worship that its advocates and admirers can find for it so important and authoritative an origin.

The Gallican liturgy is thus described by Palmer: "Germanus informs us that the liturgy began with an anthem, followed by *Gloria Patri*, after which the deacon proclaimed silence; and a mutual salutation having passed between the priest and the people, the hymn *Trisagios*, in imitation of the Greek rite, was sung and was followed by *Kyrie Eleison*, and the song of Zacharias the prophet, beginning *Benedictus*, after which the priest read a collect entitled *Post prophetiam*, in the Gallican missals. The office so far, though ancient, cannot be traced to the most primitive ages of the Gallican Church, as doubtless the liturgy originally

* Freeman's Principles of Divine Service, II., p. 404.

began with the lessons from Holy Scripture, which I now proceed to consider.

A lesson from the prophets or Old Testament was first read, then one from the Epistles, which was succeeded by the hymn of the three children, *Benedicite*, and the Holy Gospel. In later times the book of the Gospels was carried in procession to the pulpit by the deacon, who was accompanied by seven men bearing lighted tapers, and the choir sang anthems before and after the Gospel. After the Gospel was ended, the priest or bishop preached, and the deacon made prayers for the people (probably in imitation of the Greek liturgies, where a litany of the kind occurs after the Gospel), and the priest recited a collect *Post precem*.

Then the deacon proclaimed to the catechumens to depart, but whether any previous prayers were made for *them* seems doubtful. Germanus speaks of its being an ancient custom of the Church to pray for catechumens in this place, but his words do not absolutely prove that there were particular prayers for them in the Gallican Church, and no other author refers to the custom, as far as I am aware. The catechumens, and those under penitent discipline, having been dismissed, silence was again enjoined, and an address to the people on the subject of the day, and entitled *Præfatio*, was recited by the priest, who then repeated another prayer.

The oblations of the people were next received, while the choir sang an offertory anthem, termed *Sonum* by Germanus. The elements were placed on the holy table and covered with a large and close veil or pall, and in later times the priest here invoked the blessing of God on the gifts.

Then the tablets called *diptychs*, containing the names of the living and departed saints, were recited, and the priest made a collect 'post nomina.' Then followed the salutation and kiss of peace, after which the priest read the collect, 'ad pacem.' The mystical liturgy now commenced, corresponding to the Eastern 'prosphora' or 'anaphora,' and the Roman *preface* and *canon*. It began with the form 'Sursum

'Corda,' etc., and then followed the preface or thanksgiving, called 'contestatio' or 'immolatio,' in which God's benefits to the human race were variously commemorated; and at the proper place the people all joined in singing the hymn *Tersanctus*.

The thanksgiving then continued in the form called 'post sanctus,' which terminated with the commemoration of our Saviour's deed and words at the institution of this Sacrament. Afterwards the priest recited a collect entitled 'post mysterium,' or 'post secreta,' probably because the above commemoration was not committed to writing on account of its being esteemed of great efficacy in the consecration. The collect, 'post mysterium,' often contained a verbal oblation of the bread and wine, and an invocation of God to send his Holy Spirit to sanctify them into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. After this the bread was broken, and the Lord's Prayer repeated by the priest and people, being introduced and concluded with appropriate prayers made by the priest alone.

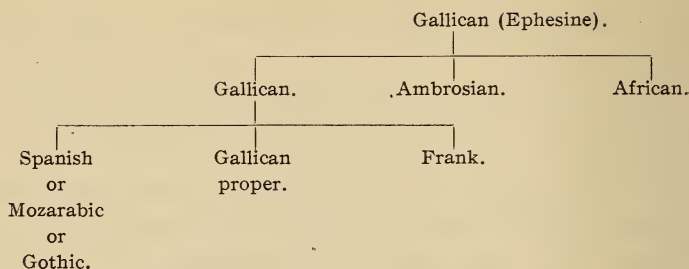
The priest or bishop then blessed the people, to which they answered Amen. Communion afterwards took place, during which a psalm or anthem was sung. The priest repeated a collect of thanksgiving, and the service terminated." *

2. *The Mozarabic Liturgy.*

This rite, by virtue of a foundation of Cardinal Ximenes, is still used in Corpus Christi chapel, adjoined to the metropolitan church in Toledo.† Some learned writers have maintained that the Mozarabic is coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Spain. But more recent and more thorough investigation shows that it was originally patterned after the Gallican Liturgy. Neale says: "The Mozarabic is simply an order of the two great classes of Western liturgies. If exhibited in a tabular form they would stand thus:

* Orig. Liturg., I., p. 158.

† It is also used at one or two other places.



The names, however, of these are extremely ill-contrived; the great generic term Gallican, as opposed to Roman, and signifying that form of liturgy which was apparently derived from Asia Minor, (and so from St. John,) and which received its earliest development from the Church of Lyons.—this term, we say, is exceedingly inapplicable, and yet none other is proposed in its stead. So again the title of Gothic, as applied to the Spanish Mass, which is not in any sense Gothic, is absurd, while the name of Mozarabic, given to an office which was used long before the Arabic invasion, is not less contrary to common sense. Mone proposes the name of Celtic, which would at all events be an improvement on the other titles.”*

It is possible that the Goths may have made sundry small additions to the Spanish service, and it is thought that St. Leander of Seville, who had been on a mission to Constantinople, introduced some of the orientalisms still to be found in it. But it was so much improved and developed by St. Isidore (603-633) of Seville that it was spoken of afterwards as “*secundum regulam Beati Isidori.*” Additions were made by John of Saragossa, Sts. Conantius, Eugenius and Ildefonso. And thus the rite came down to the Mahometan invasion. It then assumed the name of the Mozarabic Liturgy. As to the origin of the name Neale says: “The derivation is simple enough: *Arab Arabe* signifying an Arab by descent (like a Hebrew of the Hebrews). *Arab Mast Arabe*, an Arab by adoption, and the latter term gradually

* Liturgiology, pp. 129, 130.

having been softened into Mozarabic and applied to the Liturgy.”*

Through the influence of Pope Gregory VII., Alphonso VI., King of Castile and Leon, undertook to suppress the Mozarabic Liturgy in favor of that of the Roman Church. The effort was not entirely successful, as the use of the national rite still lingered in some congregations scattered among the invaders. When the Moors were finally conquered by Ferdinand towards the close of the fifteenth century, Cardinal Ximenes restored the liturgy in the one chapel at Toledo, as already said, and at the same time had the Missal carefully edited and published in 1500.

English writers think that the Mozarabic Liturgy had some influence in shaping the Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549. They support their opinion with the following facts: The connection between England and Spain was very intimate during the first third of the sixteenth century, because of the marriage of Henry VIII. to Catherine of Aragon. Since she was the daughter of Isabella, to whom Ximenes was confessor, it is regarded as extremely probable that the knowledge of the Mozarabic Liturgy was brought to England by the queen's chaplains. Wolsey succeeded to a large part of the revenues of Cardinal Ximenes, and could hardly have failed to become acquainted with the rites celebrated at Toledo. The Spaniards settled in large numbers in London during the reign of Henry VIII. (See Burbidge: *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, p. 176.)

II. THE AMBROSIAN CLASS.

The Ambrosian Liturgy also is regarded as Ephesine in origin, but was much more influenced by the Roman use than either the Gallican or the Mozarabic. It is attributed to St. Ambrose († 397), the renowned Bishop of Milan, who introduced the responsive reading of Psalms, and composed several prayers and prefaces for the worship of his diocese. Simplicius, his successor, is said to have intro-

* Liturgiology, p. 131.

duced several additions. It also received additions during the rule of the Goths (493-568) and the Lombards (568-737), and thus gradually assumed the character in which we now find it. The *Missale Ambrosianum* was published at Milan in 1768, and again in 1850. Neale regards it as immeasurably inferior in every way to the Mozarabic rite. Schaff says: "The Ambrosian Liturgy is still used in the diocese of Milan; and after sundry vain attempts to substitute the Roman, it was confirmed by Alexander VI. in 1497, by a special bull, as the *Ritus Ambrosianus*. Excepting some Oriental peculiarities, it coincides substantially with the Roman Liturgy, but has neither the pregnant brevity of the Roman, nor the richness and fullness of the Mozarabic. The prayers for the oblation of the sacrificial gifts differ from the Roman; the Apostles' Creed is not recited until after the oblation; some saints of the diocese are received into the canonical lists of the saints; the distribution of the host takes place before the Pater-noster, with formulas of its own, etc. The liturgy which was used for a long time in the patriarchate of *Aquileia* is allied to the Ambrosian, and likewise stands mid-way between the Roman and the Oriental Gallican Liturgies." *

Daniel (Codex Liturgicus, Vol. I.) gives the full Latin texts of the Roman, the Ambrosian, the Gallican and the Mozarabic Liturgies, and Neale (Liturgiology, p. 88) presents the same in outline as follows:

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Introitus.....	Ingressa.....	Ad Missam....	Antiphona.
Collect.....	Oratio super populum.	Oratio	Prefatio.
<i>Sometimes</i> prophecy.	Prophecy.....	Prophecy	Prophecy.
	Psalmellus.....	Psallendo	Psalmus Respon-
			sorius.
Epistle.....	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle.
Gradual (<i>sometimes</i> Sequence)	Alleluia or Cantus.		
Gospel	Gospel.....	Gospel	Gospel.
	Antiphona post Evan-		
	gelium.		
	Oratio super Sindonem.		
	Offertory.		

* Hist. Christ. Church, III., p. 534.

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Nicene Creed.....	Nicene Creed.		
Offertory	Oratio super Oblato.	Sacrificium. Missa. Alia Oratio.	
			Ante Nomina.
Secreta		Post Nomina.	Post Nomina.
		Ad Pacem.	
Prefatio.....	Prefatio.....	Illatio.....	Contestatio.
		Post Sanctus.	Post Mysterium.
		Post Pridie.	
Communio.....	Contractorium.....		Ante Orationem Dom- nicam.
	Transitorium.....	Ad orationem Dominicam.	
Post Communio....	Post Communio.....		Post Orationem Do- minicam.
		Benediction...	Benediction.
Prayer		Prayer.	

III. THE PETRINE CLASS.

“The Roman Liturgy is ascribed by tradition, in its main features, to the Apostle Peter, but cannot be historically traced beyond the middle of the fifth century. It has without doubt slowly grown to its present form. The oldest written records of it appear in three sacramentaries, which bear the names of three popes, Leo, Gelasius, and Gregory.”*

1. *The Sacramentarium Leoninum.*

There is no conclusive evidence that Pope Leo (440-461) composed a sacramentary. A collection of liturgical formulæ at Verona has been attributed to him. This codex called *Sacramentarium Veronense* belongs to the seventh or eighth century. It is defective both at the beginning and close. Only conjecturally has the name of Leo been attached to it. (Daniel, Codex, Lit., I., p. 7.) Some prefer to ascribe it to Gelasius. Others think that it was not the work of any one pontiff, but the work of several, as Sixtus III., Leo III., and Felix III. Muratori is of the opinion that near the close of the fifth century some one reduced to form certain prayers and prefaces composed by Leo. This is about

* Schaff, Hist. Church, III., p. 534.

all we know of the so-called sacramentary of Leo. The Verona Codex was edited by Joseph Bianchini in 1735. (See Daniel, *Cod. Lit.*, I., pp. 7, 8.)

2. *The Sacramentarium Gelasianum.*

Towards the close of the fifth century the then existing Roman Sacramentary was revised and abridged by Pope Gelasius (492-496). In it first appears the Canon. It was widely used in Western Europe, and was not wholly supplanted by the Gregorian Sacramentary until after the beginning of the ninth century. It was first printed at Rome in 1680. Its full text is given by Daniel (*Codex Lit.*, Vol. I.) parallel with that of the Gregorian, from which it does not differ in any important respect, except that it omits everything that precedes the Preface with its introductory Salutation, *Sursum Corda* and *Gratias Agamus*.

3. *The Sacramentarium Gregorianum.*

This is the Gelasian Sacramentary revised by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), who collected various anthems and shortened the prefaces and composed many collects, which are still used in the services of the Church. He describes the Canon as already old, and as having been composed by a certain Scholasticus, which may be a proper name, or may be used generically for one of a certain class. The oldest manuscript of the Gregorian Sacramentary is the Vatican, and is assigned to the ninth century. It has been edited by Muratori and others. (See Daniel, *Codex Lit.*, I., pp. 8, 9.) Burbidge says: "There is some doubt also respecting the original of even the Gregorian Sacramentary, for, whilst there are several MSS. in existence, the oldest belong to the ninth century, and in the course of two centuries since the age of its author, many additions had been introduced which caused considerable variation in the different copies. These variations increased as the centuries passed, until the whole of the varying Missals of the west of Europe were elaborated out of the Gregorian Service Book, with the exception

of the Ambrosian Missal of Milan, which belongs to a great extent to another date, and has been only slightly modified by the Gregorian and the Mozarabic Missal of Spain, which in the main is contemporary with the Gregorian, but wholly independent of it." *

This Gregorian Service Book is properly regarded as the father of the *Ordo et Canon Missae*, which was sanctioned by the Council of Trent and rendered obligatory upon all churches which could not show an uninterrupted use of their own national rites for a period of two hundred years.

The Gregorian Mass according to the Vatican codex is in outline as follows :

Introit according to the festivals or the days; the Kyrie Eleison; the Gloria in Excelsis, if a bishop be present, on Sundays or festivals. If the Litany be used, neither the Gloria in Excelsis nor the Alleluia is sung. The prayer, the Creed, Gradual or Alleluia, the Gospel, the Offertory, the Salutation, Sursum Corda, Gratias Agamus, the Preface: It is meet and right, etc., closing with the Sanctus. The Canon, commemoration of the living, commemoration of the departed, with commemoration of the oblation, prayer for the departed faithful, prayer for fellowship with the departed, Episcopal benediction, communion, post-communion collects, Peace of the Lord be with you alway, and with thy spirit. All of which should be compared with the full text of the Roman Missal in the following chapter.

* Liturgies and Offices of the Church, p. 66.

CHAPTER V.

WORSHIP IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

As already stated, the Gregorian Sacramentary furnished the principal material of the Roman Catholic Missals or Mass Books of the Middle Ages. In England, France and Germany the Missals bore important Gallican features, and differed more or less from that of Rome, but not in anything that was essential, and the same principles of worship then as now pervaded the entire Roman Catholic Church. The decree of uniformity issued by the Council of Trent was not executed immediately, but has now become universal in its effect, so that it may truthfully be said: "If the palm must be allowed to the Greek Church of having remained faithful especially to the liturgical regulations of Basil, and particularly to those of John Chrysostom, so can the Roman Catholic Church refer the age of her Mass with definiteness to Gregory the Great, and since his Missal was essentially only an abridgment of an older service, even to a still earlier period. Moreover, not only at all times, and in all places, has she retained the same order of divine service, and the same ritual, but also one and the same language. While the Greek Church has allowed to different peoples the national language for divine worship, the Roman Catholic Church presents in her cultus an instance which in fact is absolutely solitary and without parallel. The Catholic Christian may stand in the great Cathedral of Paris, or in a poor village church in Poland, or in the splendid Lateran church at Rome, or on a far-off island in the South Sea in a prayer house built by the missionaries—everywhere he finds the divine service to which he was accustomed from childhood. Even though he understand not one word of the language of the

people among whom he sojourns, yet in the Mass he recognizes everywhere the same solemn organ-tone of the Latin language as in his native land. And should the dead arise from their graves who died hundreds of years ago, they would find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the present conditions of domestic and public life; but in the Church they would still find all as they had left it, and would really think it was only a marvelous dream which they had dreamed." *

The Roman Catholic Church agrees with the Greek Church in regarding the Lord's Supper as the most essential and most important part of the Sunday divine service; but she differs from the Greek Church in that she has abolished the distinction between the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium*, and closes the service for all with the dismissal form, *Ite, missa est*.

The fundamental principle in the Roman Catholic worship lies in the fact that the Mass, that is, the Lord's Supper, is regarded as a *sacrifice* in which the Church through her priesthood presents an offering to God, the Church herself thus taking the place of mediator between God and man. In this way the Roman Catholic worship becomes a work, a service and sacrifice rendered to God for atonement and reconciliation. The Council of Trent declared in its Twenty-second Session, Chapter II., "And forasmuch as in this divine sacrifice which is celebrated in the Mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner who once offered himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross, the Holy Synod teaches that this sacrifice is propitiatory, and that by means thereof this is effected, that we obtain mercy and find grace in seasonable aid;" and in the first Canon of the same session an anathema is pronounced against any one who shall say "that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God; or, that to be offered is nothing else but that Christ is given us to eat;" and that the Holy Synod might guard against being mis-

*Alt, Der Christl. Cultus, p. 220.

understood, in the third Canon of the same session she pronounced another anathema against any one who "saith that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and of thanksgiving; or, that it is a bare commemoration of the sacrifice consummated on the cross, but not a propitiatory sacrifice, or that it ought not to be offered for the living and the dead for sins, pain, satisfaction and other necessities." In the Thirteenth Session, fifth chapter, it is taught: "There is no room left for doubt that all the faithful of Christ may, according to the custom ever received in the Catholic Church, render in veneration the worship of latria, which is due the true God, to this most holy sacrament."

From these official declarations two things are evident: (a) In the Roman Catholic worship the primary and chief idea is that God is to be propitiated by the sacrifice. (b) The highest act of worship is to be rendered to the sacrament itself. It is neither declared nor implied that God and Christ come to the worshiper with their grace and gifts through or by means of the Word and sacrament.

From this it results logically that the Church has no need of the divine Word, or of the preaching of the divine Word in the chief service; but since the sacrament, which is an offering, must be presented to God, she must increase the volume of her own words in the service. That is, she must multiply the ceremonies of worship. Hence the fullness and elaborateness of the Mass Ritual, in prayers, symbols and vestments, and the very small place occupied by the *preaching* of the Word, *which has no necessary place in the Roman Mass*. Even the reading of the divine Word in the Epistle and Gospel lessons, is left almost without effect by reason of the Latin language, which so small a portion of the worshipers understand. Under all circumstances the sacrifice, the offering of the body and blood of Christ, remains the centre of the divine service, and all parts of the order of worship point directly to that centre. But if the Mass is a sacrifice, a presentation of the body and blood of Christ to God by the hands of the priest, then no place is left

at which Christ can present the fruit of his suffering and death, at which the Church or her individual members can partake of the same. Thus the Church and her members are not in the attitude of partakers, or learners from her Lord. The Church is already complete, and out of her perfect fullness she has only to sacrifice and to offer her prayer and praise and thanksgiving through the priest. That is, her worship, in the chief service, is completely one-sided. It has only the human element. It gives everything. It receives nothing, except in so far as the objectivity of the sacrament assures the recipient that his sins are pardoned. But as worship is rendered by the Church in her collective capacity, every individual member of the Church has an interest in the worship by virtue of membership with the Church through baptism. The Church is one. What she does, I do. If she offers a sacrifice, I offer a sacrifice. What she suffers, I suffer. If she is reconciled to God by the Mass, I, if I assent to her work, am also reconciled to God by the Mass which she says.

There is no need of subjective faith, for there is nothing to receive, nothing to appropriate. Christ is not offered to the worshiper as in a sacrament. He is offered by the worshiper through the Church to God as a sacrifice. The benefit results by virtue of the work that has been done. Yea, there is not even any need of the *presence* of an appropriating member or of an appropriating congregation. It is sufficient that the priest alone appropriate the body and blood of Christ. The absent and deceased members of the Church have the benefit, because the Church, which is composed of all non-excommunicated baptized persons, whether living or dead, acts for all. Hence the great number of private Masses for both the living and the dead. But a Church, thus constituted and thus acting, can render its worship only through representative individuals who gather into their own official acts the acts of all; hence the priesthood or a class of individuals who represent the Church and her mem-

bers before God. From the foregoing principles it results logically, and the facts support the logic,

1. That the priest prays, reads, consecrates and makes the sacrifice while the congregation looks on idly or worships in silence; and all this the priest does for and instead of the congregation in an unknown tongue. It is the collective work which he does to God. The value of the work lies in the performance, in the fact that a sacrifice has been offered. But then, the more frequently the work is done the greater the aggregate of merit. Hence the number of Masses is multiplied, and Masses are said in almost every emergency, and for almost every condition of human need. The priest by his work makes reconciliation before God for the congregation, for the absent, for the deceased. The Lord's Supper is not a communion by which the congregation is united with her Lord, and her members with each other in living fellowship.

2. That casting the Word and the preaching of the Word into the background, and making a sacrifice, the Roman Catholic Church can receive no fresh additions to her worship, nor can she adapt the form of her worship to changed conditions, but must retain everything in a fixed form, and must come into a mechanism of practice, the fundamental principle of which is that the offerer is justified because the sacrifice has been offered.

Hence the Canon of the Mass, that is, the fixed rule according to which Mass is said, and the valuation placed upon ceremonies as offices of piety. The Council of Trent decreed: "The Catholic Church instituted many years ago the Sacred Canon, so pure from every error, that nothing is contained therein which does not in the highest degree savor of a certain holiness and piety, and raise up unto God the minds of those that offer." (Twenty-second Session.) And in the sixth and seventh canons of the same session, it is declared: "If any one saith that the Canon of the Mass contains errors and is therefore to be abrogated: let him be anathema." "If any one saith that the ceremonies, vest-

ments, and outward signs, which the Catholic Church makes use of in the celebration of Masses, are incentives to impiety, rather than offices of piety: let him be anathema."

3. That failing of the grace and gifts of God, through Word and sacrament, the Roman Catholic Church must more and more present her own works. Hence her multiplied saints' days which encroach on the Lord's day, and her legends which she substitutes in the place of the Word of God. Hence also the prayers which she offers to her saints, that is, to herself. The Council of Trent decreed in its Twenty-fifth Session that all bishops and pastors should teach, "that the saints who reign together with Christ, offer up their prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, [and] help for obtaining benefits from God, through the Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour; but that they think impiously who deny that saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invocated; or who assert either that they do not pray for men; or that the invocation of them to pray for each of us, even in particular, is idolatry; or that it is repugnant to the Word of God, and is opposed to the honor of the *one Mediator* of God and man, *Christ Jesus*; or that it is foolish to supplicate, vocally or mentally, those who reign in heaven."

Thus the worship of the Roman Catholic Church is representant, traditional, stationary, and may be summarized as follows:

It reduces the preaching of the Word in the chief divine service to a minimum; it makes the sacrifice of the Mass the centre of worship; it commits the acts of worship entirely to the priest, who performs the service for and instead of the congregation; it places the Church in the attitude of a giver, and not of a receiver. As a result, the worship of the Roman Catholic Church cannot edify, nor does it ethically affect the worshiper, except in so far as the offering of a sacrifice, by its reactionary effect and by its very object-

ivity, tends to impress religious sentiments upon the worshiper, and to inspire religious affections.

THE MISSAL.

The Roman Catholic Missal, or Mass Book, or Order for celebrating "the most holy sacrament of the eucharist," is taken *verbatim* by permission from the "Missal for the Laity," published by D. and J. Sadlier & Co., 33 Barclay St., New York. The translation purports to have been made from the latest edition of the Roman Missal. It bears the IMPRIMATUR of John, Cardinal Archbishop of New York, and the RE-IMPRIMATUR of Michael Augustine, Archbishop of New York.

ORDINARY OF THE MASS.

[N. B. At Low Mass, the parts within the brackets are to be passed over.]

*The Priest, standing at the foot of the altar, and bowing down before it, signs himself with the sign of the Cross from the forehead to the breast, and says with a distinct voice: **

In the name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, joining his hands before his breast, he begins the Antiphon:

I will go unto the altar of God.

R. To God, who giveth joy to my youth.

In Masses for the Dead, and from Passion Sunday till Holy Saturday exclusively, the following Psalm is omitted:

P. Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from the nation that is not holy: deliver me from the unjust and deceitful man.

R. For thou, O God, art my strength: why hast thou cast

* At the beginning of High Mass, when the Priest commences at the foot of the altar, the choir sing the *Kyrie eleison*, etc. (and sometimes the *Introit*), which usually lasts until the *Gloria in excelsis*. Those parts of the Service which are sung by the choir, except responses, are also said in a low voice by the Priest.

me off? and why do I go sorrowful whilst the enemy afflicteth me?

P. Send forth thy light and thy truth: they have conducted me and brought me unto thy holy mount, and into thy tabernacles.

R. And I will go unto the altar of God: to God, who giveth joy to my youth.

P. I will praise thee on the harp, O God, my God: why are thou sorrowful, O my soul? and why dost thou disquiet me?

R. Hope in God, for I will still give praise to him: who is the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

P. Glory be to the Father, etc.

R. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

V. I will go unto the altar of God.

R. To God, who giveth joy to my youth.

V. Our help is in the name of the Lord.

R. Who hath made heaven and earth.

Then, joining his hands and humbly bowing down, he says the Confession.

P. I confess to almighty God, etc.

R. May almighty God have mercy upon thee, forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee to life everlasting.

P. Amen.

R. I confess to almighty God, to blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the Archangel, to blessed John Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the Saints, and to you, father, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed [*here strike the breast thrice*], through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault. Therefore I beseech blessed Mary ever Virgin, blessed Michael the Archangel, blessed John Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the Saints, and you, father, to pray to the Lord our God for me.

Then the Priest, with his hands joined, gives the Absolution, saying:

P. May almighty God have mercy upon you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to life everlasting.

R. Amen.

Signing himself with the sign of the Cross, he says:

P. ✠ May the almighty and merciful Lord grant us pardon, absolution, and remission of our sins.

R. Amen.

Then, bowing down, he proceeds:

V. Thou wilt turn again, O God, and quicken us.

R. And thy people shall rejoice in thee.

V. Show us, O Lord, thy mercy.

R. And grant us thy salvation.

V. O Lord, hear my prayer.

R. And let my cry come unto thee.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

First extending and then joining his hands, he says audibly Oremus; and then ascending to the altar, he says secretly:

Take away from us our iniquities, we beseech thee, O Lord: that we may be worthy to enter with pure minds into the Holy of holies. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Bowing down over the altar, he says:

We beseech thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy saints whose relics are here, and of all the saints, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to forgive me all my sins. Amen.

[Receiving the thurible from the Deacon, he incenses the altar, and returns the thurible to the Deacon, who incenses the Priest only.] Then the Priest, signing himself with the sign of the Cross, reads the Introit, which see in its place at the proper day, or else read one of the following:

Blessed be the Holy and Undivided Unity: we will give praise to him, because he hath shown his mercy to us.

O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the earth!

Glory be to the Father, who hath created us.

Glory be to the Son, who hath redeemed us.

Glory be to the Holy Ghost, who hath sanctified us.

Glory be to the Holy and Undivided Trinity, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.

Or:

(*For a Saint's Day.*) The just shall flourish like the palm-tree; he shall grow up like the cedar of Libanus; planted in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God.

It is good to give praise to the Lord; and to sing to thy name, O Most High.

The Kyrie eleison is then said.

S. Kyrie eleison. M. Kyrie eleison. S. Kyrie eleison. *Lord, have mercy upon us.*

M. Christe eleison. S. Christe eleison. M. Christe eleison. *Christ, have mercy upon us.*

S. Kyrie eleison. M. Kyrie eleison. S. Kyrie eleison. *Lord, have mercy upon us.*

*Afterwards, standing at the middle of the altar, extending and then joining his hands, and slightly bowing, he says, (when it is to be said *) the Gloria in excelsis. When he says the words, We adore thee, We give thee thanks, Jesus Christ, and Receive our prayer, he bows, and at the end he signs himself with the sign of the Cross.*

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will. We praise thee. We bless thee. We adore thee. We glorify thee. We give thee thanks for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father almighty. O Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son: O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. Thou who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayers: thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us. For thou only art holy: thou only art the Lord: thou only, O Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

* The *Gloria* is omitted during Lent and Advent, and in Masses for the Dead. At High Mass the choir sing the *Gloria* (after the words "Gloria in excelsis Deo," which are intoned by the Priest), and the

The Priest kisses the altar, and, turning to the people, says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Then follow the Collects, at the end of the first and last of which the Acolyte answers Amen.

See the proper Collect, etc., of the day, in its proper place, or say:

Defend us, O Lord, we beseech thee, from all dangers of soul and body; and by the intercession of the glorious and blessed Mary ever Virgin, Mother of God, blessed Joseph, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, the blessed N. and all thy Saints, grant us, in thy mercy, health and peace; that all adversities and errors being done away, thy Church may serve thee with a pure and undisturbed devotion. Through, etc.

O almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is sanctified and governed: hear our humble supplications for all degrees and orders thereof, that, by the assistance of thy grace, they may faithfully serve thee. Through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son; who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

Then the Epistle for the day is read, which may be found in its proper place; or the following may be read instead:

Rejoice in the Lord always: and again I say, rejoice. Let your modesty be known to all men: the Lord is nigh. Be not solicitous about any thing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your petitions be made known to God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus. For the rest, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are modest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are amiable, whatsoever things are in good repute, if there be any virtue,

officiating Clergy wait until its conclusion, after which the Celebrant proceeds with the Collects.

if there be any praise of discipline, think on these things. The things which you have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, these do ye: and the peace of God shall be with you.

After which:

Thanks be to God.

Then the Gradual, Tract, Alleluia, or Sequence, according to the time.

GRADUAL.*

Be thou unto me a God, a protector, and a house of refuge to save me. In thee, O God, have I hoped; O Lord, let me never be confounded.

Deal not with us, O Lord, according to our sins which we have committed, nor punish us according to our iniquities.

V. Help us, O God our Saviour; and for the glory of thy name, O Lord, deliver us, and forgive us our sins for thy name's sake.

(At Low Mass, go on to § *If the Priest celebrates, etc.*)

After this, at High Mass, the Deacon places the book of the Gospels on the altar, and the Celebrant blesses the incense (as above). Then the Deacon, kneeling before the altar, with joined hands, says the following prayer. § If the Priest celebrates without Deacon and sub-Deacon, the book is carried to the other side of the altar, and he, bowing down at the middle of the altar, with his hands joined, says:

Cleanse my heart and my lips, O almighty God, who didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaias with a burning coal: and vouchsafe, through thy gracious mercy, so to purify me, that I may worthily proclaim thy holy Gospel. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Priest, if alone, continues as below; if there be a Deacon, he takes the book from the altar, and again kneeling down before the Priest, asks his blessing, saying, Sir, give me thy blessing. The Priest says:

* The Choir sing the *Gradual*, while the book is moved to the Gospel side, and the Priest says the prayer (*Munda cor meum*), "Cleanse my heart," etc.

The Lord be in thy heart, and on thy lips, that thou mayest worthily and in a becoming manner announce his holy Gospel: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and ✠ of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Having received the blessing, he kisses the hand of the Priest; and then, with incense and lighted candles, he goes to the place where the Gospel is read, and, standing with his hands joined, says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Then, giving out:

V. The continuation (or beginning) of the holy Gospel according to N.

He makes the sign of the Cross with the thumb of his right hand on the Gospel which he is to read, and on his forehead, mouth, and breast (the people doing the same); and while the Minister and people answer:

R. Glory be to thee, O Lord.

He incenses the book three times, and then reads the Gospel, which see at the proper day, or read this:

GOSPEL.

If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive; because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him: but you shall know him; because he shall abide with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you orphans: I will come to you. Yet a little while; and the world seeth me no more. But ye see me; because I live, and you shall live. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you. He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved by my Father: and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.

Then is said:

R. Praise be to thee, O Christ.

The sub-Deacon then carries the book to the Priest. He kisses the Gospel, saying:

By the words of the Gospel may our sins be blotted out.

The Priest is incensed by the Deacon.

Here the sermon is usually preached.

Then, at the middle of the altar, extending, elevating, and joining his hands, the Priest says the Nicene Creed (when it is to be said), keeping his hands joined. When he says the words, God, Jesus Christ, and is adored, he bows his head to the Cross. But at the words, and was incarnate, he kneels down, and continues kneeling to the words, was made man. At the words, the life of the world to come, he signs himself with the sign of the Cross from the forehead to the breast.

I believe in one God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages. God of God: Light of Light: true God of true God. Begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary: AND WAS MADE MAN. [*Here the people kneel down.*] He was crucified also for us, suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was buried. The third day he rose again according to the Scriptures. And ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead; of his kingdom there shall be no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son: who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified: who spake by the prophets. And one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Then he kisses the altar, and turning to the people, says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

*Then he says the Offertory * (see the day).*

OFFERTORY.

The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him, and shall deliver them: oh, taste and see that the Lord is good.

I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast upheld me; and hast not made my enemies to rejoice over me: O Lord, I have cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me.

This being finished, the Priest takes the paten with the Host [if it is High Mass, the Deacon hands the Priest the paten with the Host], and offering it up, says:

Accept, O holy Father, almighty, eternal God, this immaculate Host, which I, thy unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offenses, and negligences, and for all here present, as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead, that it may be profitable for my own and for their salvation unto life eternal. Amen.

Then making the sign of the Cross with the paten, he places the Host upon the corporal. The Priest pours wine and water into the chalice, blessing the water before it is mixed, saying:

O God, ✠ who, in creating human nature, didst wonderfully dignify it, and hast still more wonderfully renewed it: grant that, by the mystery of this Water and Wine, we may be made partakers of his divinity, who vouchsafed to become partaker of our humanity, Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord; who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of, etc.

[If it is a High Mass, the Deacon ministers the wine, the sub-Deacon the water.]

In Masses for the Dead, the foregoing prayer is said, but the water is not blessed. Then the Priest takes the chalice, and offers it, saying:

* The Choir sing the *Offertory*, or some other appropriate motet or hymn.

We offer unto thee, O Lord, the chalice of salvation, beseeching thy clemency, that in the sight of thy divine Majesty, it may ascend with the odor of sweetness, for our salvation, and for that of the whole world. Amen.

Then he makes the sign of the Cross with the chalice, places it upon the corporal, and covers it with the pall. Then, with his hands joined upon the altar, and slightly bowing down, he says:

[At High Mass, the sub-Deacon here receives the paten, which he envelops in the veil with which his shoulders are mantled, and then goes and stands behind the Celebrant until the conclusion of the Paternoster.]

In a spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart, let us be received by thee, O Lord, and grant that the sacrifice we offer in thy sight this day may be pleasing to thee, O Lord God.

The Priest, elevating his eyes towards heaven, and stretching out his hands, which he afterwards joins, makes the sign of the Cross over the Host and chalice, while he says:

Come, O sanctifier, almighty, eternal God, and bless ✠ this sacrifice, prepared to thy holy name.

**At High Mass, he, in the following prayer, blesses the incense:*

May the Lord, by the intercession of blessed Michael the Archangel, standing at the right hand of the Altar of Incense, and of all his elect, vouchsafe to bless this incense, and receive it as an odor of sweetness. Through, etc. Amen.

Receiving the thurible from the Deacon, he incenses the bread and wine, saying:

May this incense which thou hast blest, O Lord, ascend to thee, and may thy mercy descend upon us.

Then he incenses the altar, saying, Ps. cxl.

Let my prayer, O Lord, ascend like incense in thy sight: and the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice.

**At Low Mass, these prayers, down to the Lavabo, I will wash, etc., are omitted.*

Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and a door round about my lips, that my heart may not incline to evil words, to make excuses in sins.

While he gives the censer to the Deacon, he says in a low voice these words, and is afterwards incensed by the Deacon, and then the others in order:

May the Lord enkindle in us the fire of his love, and the flame of everlasting charity. Amen.

The Priest, with his hands joined, goes to the Epistle side of the altar, where he washes his fingers as he recites the following verses of Ps. xxv.:

I will wash my hands among the innocent: and will encompass thy altar, O Lord:

That I may hear the voice of praise, and tell of all thy marvellous works.

I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.

Take not away my soul, O God, with the wicked, nor my life with bloody men.

In whose hands are iniquities: their right hand is filled with gifts.

As for me, I have walked in my innocence: redeem me, and have mercy upon me.

My foot hath stood in the right path: in the churches I will bless thee, O Lord.

Glory be to the Father, etc.

[In Masses for the Dead, and in Passion-time, the Gloria is omitted.]

Returning, and bowing before the middle of the altar, with joined hands, he says:

Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation, which we make to thee, in memory of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honor of the blessed Mary ever Virgin, of blessed John Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, of these and of all the Saints: that it may be available to their honor and our salvation: and may they vouch-

safe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then he kisses the altar, and having turned himself towards the people, extending and joining his hands, he raises his voice a little, and says:

Brethren, pray that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father almighty.

R. May the Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands, to the praise and glory of his name, to our benefit, and to that of all his holy Church.

The Priest answers in a low voice, Amen.

Then with stretched-out hands he recites the Secret Prayers, which see at the proper day, or say:

SECRET.

Mercifully hear our prayers, O Lord, and graciously accept this oblation which we thy servants make to thee: and as we offer it to the honor of thy name, so may it be to us a means of obtaining thy grace here, and life everlasting hereafter. Through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

For a Saint's day.

Sanctify, O Lord, we beseech thee, these gifts which we offer thee in this solemnity of thy holy servant N.: and so strengthen us by thy grace, that both in prosperity and adversity our ways may be ever directed to thy honor. Through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Which being finished, he says in an audible voice:

V. World without end.

R. Amen.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Here he uplifts his hands.

V. Lift up your hearts.

R. We have them lifted up unto the Lord.

He joins his hands before his breast, and bows his head while he says:

V. Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

R. It is meet and just.

He then disjoins his hands, and keeps them in this posture until the end of the Preface, after which he again joins them, and, bowing, says, Sanctus, etc. When he says Benedictus, etc., he crosses himself.*

At the word Sanctus, etc., the bell is rung three times by the Acolyte.

PREFACE.

Preface of Trinity Sunday, and every other Sunday that has no proper one.†

I. It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O holy Lord, Father almighty, Eternal God.

II. Who, together with thy only-begotten Son and the Holy Ghost, art one God and one Lord, not in a singularity of one Person, but in a Trinity of one substance. For that which by thy revelation we believe of thy glory, the same we believe of thy Son, and the same of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or distinction; that in the confession of a true and eternal Deity, distinctness in the Persons, unity in the essence, and equality in the Majesty may be adored. Whom the angels and archangels, the cherubim also and seraphim praise: and cease not daily to cry out with one voice, saying:

III. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is he that cometh ✠ in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

CANON OF THE MASS.

We therefore humbly pray and beseech thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord [*he kisses the altar*], that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept and

* At High Mass, the Choir sing the *Sanctus* (while the Priest is proceeding with the Canon) as far as "Hosanna in excelsis," *before* the elevation; and *after* the elevation, "Benedictus qui venit," etc.

† Other special Prefaces are here omitted.

bless these ✠ gifts, these ✠ presents, these ✠ holy unspotted sacrifices, which, in the first place, we offer thee for thy holy Catholic Church, to which vouchsafe to grant peace: as also to protect, unite, and govern it throughout the world, together with thy servant N. our Pope, N. our Bishop, as also all orthodox believers and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith.

COMMEMORATION OF THE LIVING.

Be mindful, O Lord, of thy servants, men and women, N. and N.

He joins his hands, and prays silently for those he intends to pray for; then, extending his hands, he proceeds:

And all here present, whose faith and devotion are known unto thee: for whom we offer, or who offer up to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves, their families and friends, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their safety and salvation, and who pay their vows to thee, the eternal, living, and true God.

Communicating with, and honoring in the first place the memory of the glorious and ever Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ: as also of the blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy Saints; by whose merits and prayers grant that we may be always defended by the help of thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Spreading his hands over the oblation, he says the words of consecration secretly, distinctly, and attentively.

[Here the bell is rung.]

We therefore beseech thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation of our service, as also of thy whole family; dispose our days in thy peace, command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thy elect. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Which oblation do thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become to us the body ✠ and ✠ blood of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Who the day before he suffered, took bread [*he takes the Host*] into his holy and venerable hands [*he raises his eyes to heaven*], and with his eyes lifted up towards heaven to God, his Almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, did bless, break, and give to his disciples, saying: Take, and eat ye all of this. FOR THIS IS MY BODY.

After pronouncing the words of consecration, the Priest, kneeling, adores the sacred Host; rising, he elevates it; and then placing it on the corporal, again adores it. After this he never disjoins his fingers and thumbs, except when it is to take the Host, until after the washing of his fingers.

[At the elevation the bell is rung thrice.]

In like manner, after he had supped [*he takes the chalice in both his hands*], taking also this excellent chalice into his holy and venerable hands, and giving thee thanks, he blessed, and gave to his disciples, saying: Take, and drink ye all of this; FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT: THE MYSTERY OF FAITH: WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU, AND FOR MANY, TO THE REMISSION OF SINS.

As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

Kneeling, he adores; rising, he elevates the chalice; then replacing it on the corporal, he covers it, and again adores.

[The bell is rung thrice.]

He then proceeds:

Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants, as also thy holy people, calling to mind the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, his resurrection from hell, and glorious ascension into heaven, offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, of thy gifts and grants, a pure ✠ Host, a holy ✠ Host, an immaculate ✠ Host, the holy ✠ bread of eternal life, and the chalice ✠ of everlasting salvation.

Extending his hands, he proceeds:

Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them, as thou wast graciously pleased to accept the gifts of thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which thy high priest Melchisedec offered to thee, a holy sacrifice, an immaculate host.

Bowing down profoundly, with his hands joined and placed upon the altar, he says:

We most humbly beseech thee, almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy altar on high, the sight of thy divine Majesty, that as many of us [*he kisses the altar*] as, by participation at this altar, shall receive the most sacred Body ✠ and ✠ Blood of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Be mindful, O Lord, of thy servants and handmaids N. and N., who are gone before us, with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace.

He prays for such of the dead as he intends to pray for.

To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech thee, a place of refreshment, light and peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here, striking his breast and slightly raising his voice, he says:

And to us sinners, thy servants, hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints; into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not considering our merit, but freely pardoning our offences. Through Christ our Lord.

By whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, ✠ quicken, ✠ bless ✠ and give us all these good things.

He uncovers the chalice, and makes a genuflection; then

taking the Host in his right hand, and holding the chalice in his left, he signs the sign of the Cross three times across the chalice, saying:

Through him, ✙ and with him, ✙ and in him, ✙ is to thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honor and glory.

Replacing the Host and covering the chalice, he kneels down; and rising again, he says, or at High Mass chants:

V. Forever and ever.

R. Amen.

Let us pray.

Instructed by thy saving precepts, and following thy divine institution, we presume to say:

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation.

R. But deliver us from evil.

P. Amen.

[At High Mass, the Deacon, towards the conclusion of the Paternoster, goes to the right hand of the Priest, where he awaits the approach of the sub-Deacon, from whom he receives the paten, which he puts into the hands of the Priest.]

He takes the paten between his first and second fingers, and says:

Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present and to come: and by the intercession of the blessed and glorious Mary ever Virgin, Mother of God, together with thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew, and all the Saints [*making the sign of the Cross on himself with the paten, he kisses it, and says*], mercifully grant peace in our days: that by the assistance of thy mercy we may be always free from sin, and secure from all disturbance.

He slides the paten under the Host, uncovers the chalice,

and makes a genuflection; then, rising, he takes the Host, breaks it in the middle over the chalice, saying:

Through the same Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord.

He puts the part which is in his right hand upon the paten, breaks a particle from the other part in his left hand, saying:

Who with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth God.

He places the half in his left hand on the paten, and holding the particle which he broke off in his right hand, and the chalice in his left, he says:

V. World without end.

R. Amen.

He makes the sign of the Cross with the particle over the chalice, saying:

V. May the peace ✠ of the Lord be ✠ always with ✠ you.

R. And with thy spirit.

He puts the particle into the chalice, saying:

May this mixture and consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us that receive it effectual to eternal life. Amen.

*He covers the chalice, makes a genuflection, and rises; then bowing down and striking his breast three times, he says. **

Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

In Masses for the Dead, he says twice, Give them rest; and lastly, Give them eternal rest. Standing in an inclined position, with his hands joined and resting on the altar, and his eyes reverently fixed upon the sacred Host, he says:

Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to thy Apostles: Peace I

* The Choir sing the *Agnus Dei*.

leave with you, my peace I give unto you: regard not my sins, but the faith of thy Church: and vouchsafe to it that peace and unity which is agreeable to thy will. Who livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen.

[*The preceding prayer is omitted in Masses for the Dead.*]

[*At High Mass, the Deacon kisses the altar at the same time with the celebrating Priest, by whom he is saluted with the kiss of peace with these words:*]

V. Peace be with thee.

R. And with thy spirit.

And then salutes in like manner the sub-Deacon, who conveys the kiss of peace to those amongst the clergy who may be assisting at Mass.

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by thy death given life to the world: deliver me by this thy most sacred Body and Blood from all my iniquities and from all evils, and make me always adhere to thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee: who with the same God the Father and Holy Ghost livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen.

Let not the participation of thy Body, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I, unworthy, presume to receive, turn to my judgment and condemnation: but through thy goodness, may it be to me a safeguard and remedy, both of soul and body. Who with God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen.

Making a genuflection, the Priest rises and says:

I will take the bread of heaven, and call upon the name of the Lord.

Then slightly inclining, he takes both halves of the Host between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, and the paten between the same forefinger and the middle one; then striking his breast with his right hand, and raising his voice a little, he says three times devoutly and humbly:

Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof: say but the word, and my soul shall be healed.

Then with his right hand crossing himself, with the Host over the paten, he says:

May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to life everlasting. Amen.

He then reverently receives both halves of the Host, joins his hands, and remains a short time in meditation on the most holy Sacrament. Then he uncovers the chalice, genuflects, collects whatever fragments may remain on the corporal, and wipes the paten over the chalice, saying while so doing:

What shall I render to the Lord for all he hath rendered unto me? I will take the chalice of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. Praising I will call upon the Lord, and I shall be saved from my enemies.

He takes the chalice in his right hand, and making the sign of the Cross with it on himself, he says:

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to everlasting life. Amen.

Then he receives all the Blood, together with the particle. After which he communicates all who are to communicate (if there be any).

Those who are to communicate go up to the Sanctuary at the Domine, non sum dignus, when the bell rings; the Acolyte spreads a cloth before them, and says the Confiteor.

Then the Priest turns to the communicants, and pronounces a general absolution in these words:

May almighty God have mercy on you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to life everlasting.

R. Amen.

P. May the almighty and merciful Lord give you pardon, absolution, and remission of your sins.

R. Amen.

Elevating a particle of the Blessed Sacrament, and turning towards the people, he says:

Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world.

And then repeats three times, Domine, non sum dignus.

Descending the steps of the altar to the communicants, he administers the Holy Communion, saying to each:

May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul to life everlasting. Amen.

Then the Priest holds the chalice for the Acolyte to pour into it a little wine, for the first ablution, and while so doing, says:

Grant, Lord, that what we have taken with our mouth, we may receive with a pure mind: and of a temporal gift may it become to us an eternal remedy.

Then having taken the first ablution, he says:

May thy Body, O Lord, which I have received, and thy Blood which I have drunk, cleave to my bowels: and grant that no stain of sin may remain in me, who have been refreshed with pure and holy sacraments. Who livest, etc. Amen.

Then, the Acolyte pouring wine and water over his fingers, he washes them, wipes them, and takes the second ablution; he then wipes his mouth and the chalice which he covers; and having folded the corporal, places it on the altar, as at first; he then goes to the book, and reads the Communion, for which see office of the day.

COMMUNION.

One thing I have asked of the Lord, this will I seek after: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life.

Oh, taste and see that the Lord is sweet: blessed is the man that hopeth in him.

(*For a Saint's Day.*) Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find watching.

If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

Then he turns to the people, and says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Then he reads the Post-Communions, for which see the

proper day; at the end of the first and last of which the Acolyte answers, Amen.

POST-COMMUNION.

Pour forth upon us, O Lord, the spirit of thy love, that, by thy mercy, thou mayest make those of one mind whom thou hast fed with one celestial food. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Holy Spirit, etc.

(*For a Saint's Day.*) Having received heavenly mysteries, O Lord, in the commemoration of the blessed Mary ever Virgin, N., and all thy Saints; grant, we beseech thee, that what we celebrate in time, we may obtain in the joys of eternity. Through our Lord, etc.

Afterwards he turns again towards the people, and says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Go, the Mass is ended; [*or when the Gloria in excelsis has been omitted:*] Let us bless the Lord.

(*At high Mass, Ite missa est is chanted by the Deacon.*)

R. Thanks be to God.

In Masses for the Dead.

V. May they rest in peace.

R. Amen.

Bowing down before the altar, with his hands joined and resting on it, the Priest says:

O holy Trinity, let the performance of my homage be pleasing to thee, and grant that the sacrifice which I, unworthy, have offered up in the sight of thy Majesty, may be acceptable to thee, and through thy mercy be a propitiation for me, and all those for whom I have offered it. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then he kisses the altar, and raising his eyes, extending, raising, and joining his hands, he bows his head to the Crucifix, and says:

May almighty God, the Father, Son ✠ and Holy Ghost, bless you. Amen.

At the word Deus, he turns towards the people, and makes

the sign of the cross on them. Then turning to the Gospel side of the altar, he says:

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

[The Benediction is omitted in Masses for the Dead.]

He then traces the sign of the Cross, first upon the altar, and then upon his forehead, lips, and heart, and begins the Gospel according to St. John, saying:

P. The beginning of the Holy Gospel according to St. John.

R. Glory be to thee, O Lord.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men: and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to give testimony of the light. He was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.

He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the sons of God: to those that believe in his name, who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. AND THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH [*here the people kneel down*], and dwelt among us; and we saw his glory, as it were the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

R. Thanks be to God.

When a feast falls on a Sunday, or other day which has a proper Gospel of its own, the Gospel of the day is read instead of the Gospel of St. John.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LUTHERAN RENOVATION OF WORSHIP.

LUTHER was acquainted with the Roman Catholic worship—its principles and forms—from his childhood. As a choir-boy he had sung in the Mass. When he was consecrated priest in the year 1507, the bishop gave him as a part of his commission, "Receive power to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead." When he went to Rome in 1511, he was such a devout Catholic that on catching the first sight of the eternal city, he fell to the ground and exclaimed: "Hail to thee, thou holy Rome!"

But here as an honest German and devout priest he was greatly shocked at the impiety of the priests. "Among other vulgarities," as he afterwards related, "I, there, as we were seated at the table, heard the courtiers laughing and telling how some would say Mass, and speak thus over the bread and wine: 'Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.' What was I to think of these things? If here in Rome they publicly and without reserve speak in this way, what if they, one and all, pope, cardinals and courtiers, say Mass thus! And, indeed, besides this, it exceedingly disgusted me to find them saying Mass with such utter indifference and haste, as if they had been practicing legerdemain; for, before I had come to the Gospel, my fellow-priest had ended his Mass, and was calling to me: '*Passa, Passa*, that will do, come away,' etc." While at Rome he foolishly ran to every church, nook and corner, in search of peace for his soul, and believed all the ridiculous stories and falsehoods related about saints, shrines and other places of sanctity. He says: "I likewise said a Mass or two at Rome, and was very sorry

at the time that my parents were not dead, as by means of my Masses and precious works and prayers, I should have liked to deliver them from purgatory."

So firmly was he convinced of the meritorious character of the Papacy and the principles of the Church, that he afterwards said: "If ever there was a person who made much of the pope and of the institutions of the fathers, and was most zealously attached to them, I was that person. And I observed and defended them with as much earnestness as if they had been holiness itself, and were so necessary for salvation that they must be observed. Therefore I fasted, and watched, and prayed, and tormented and plagued myself with other exercises far more than did all who are now my worst enemies and persecutors."

In 1512, Luther was made Doctor of Theology. His oath bound him to study and teach the Holy Scriptures. He now began to lecture on the Psalms, and soon on the Epistle to the Romans, and to study more carefully than before the works of Augustine. The result was a clear perception of the way to salvation, and a most determined opposition to Aristotle and the Scholastics. "Prior to all obedience the *person* must be acceptable, for God looked first upon Abel, and then upon his gift." On the Psalm lxiv. 14, he writes: "God will work justification. This operates against Aristotle, who wrote that we become righteous when we do righteousness. Much rather must a person be righteous before he can work righteousness." April 7th, 1516, he wrote to an Augustinian brother, as follows: "Learn Christ and him crucified. Learn to praise him, and, despairing of thyself, to say to him: Lord Jesus, thou art my righteousness, but I am thy sin. Thou didst take mine and didst give me thine. Thou didst become what thou wast not. Be careful not to aspire to so great holiness as not to wish to seem to yourself or to be a sinner. Christ dwells only in sinners. For he came down from Heaven, where he dwelt with the righteous, that he might also dwell with sinners. Meditate on that love, and thou wilt experience most pre-

cious comfort." * On the 18th of May in the following year he wrote to John Lange: "Our theology and St. Augustine go on prosperously, and by the help of God, reign in our University. Aristotle is gradually going down, and will soon be overthrown, perhaps forever. The lectures on the Sententiaries are in complete disgust. No one may hope for an audience who is not willing to teach this theology, that is, the Bible, or St. Augustine, or some other doctor of authority in the Church."† All this marks progress. The light was breaking. Scholasticism and traditionalism were making way for the grace and love for which sorrowing souls were sighing. The theology of penance was yielding to the theology of faith. The "sworn doctor of Holy Scripture" had broken the seals which kept the Book of life closed from the people. His light cannot long remain under a bushel.

In 1516, Luther was called to be assistant pastor of the *Stadt-Kirche*. Immediately he began to preach on grace and faith, and to comfort the penitent with the divine promises of mercy and forgiveness. But when he discovered in the confessional that the people had obtained indulgences for their sins, and would not promise obedience and amendment of life, he refused absolution, preached against indulgences, and prepared and nailed up the famous Ninety-five Theses, October 31st, 1517. The sixty-second thesis reads: "*The real and true treasure of the Church is the most Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.*" Here is gained in distinct proposition a fundamental principle of the Protestant Reformation, and the objective or material truth of Evangelical Worship. The most Holy Gospel, the declaration of salvation by the Word, and the sealing of salvation by the sacraments, stands over against the traditions of men and the institutions of the Church. Sharp controversy with Sylvester Prierias, Jacob Hochstraten, John Eck and others, developed this idea of the superiority of the Gospels, until

* De Wette, I., p. 17.

† De Wette, I., p. 57.

at Worms in 1521, he reached the sublime conclusion that in matters of religion the Word of God alone is the foundation of faith, and that it alone can bind the conscience.

This is the Formal Principle of the Reformation,—the supreme normative authority of the Word of God. This principle must be clearly and fully comprehended before there can be any distinct or proper conception of Evangelical Worship, for Evangelical Worship bases itself not upon any word of man, nor upon any institutions of men, but alone upon the Word of God. “The Christian congregation should never assemble, except the Word of God be preached, and prayer be offered, even though it be very brief (Ps. cii. 22, 23; 1 Cor. xiv. 31). Therefore when the Word of God is not preached, it were better that there should be neither singing, nor reading, nor meeting.”* But Luther did not develop in a one-sided way. Along with his biblical idea, he developed the idea of the subjective apprehension of “the real and true treasure of the Church,” that is, the idea of faith in the worshiper. When in 1518 Eck declared in the Obelisci: “The sacraments of the new law effect what they signify,” Luther replied in the Asterisci: “The sacraments of the new law do not effect the grace which they signify, but faith is required prior to the sacrament. Moreover, faith is grace. Therefore, grace always precedes the sacrament, according to the well known saying, ‘not the sacrament, but faith in the sacrament, justifies;’ and as Augustine says: not because a work is done, but because faith is exercised.”†

In the same year he preached a sermon on The Proper Preparation of the Heart for the Reception of the Eucharist. He declares that it is a great and pernicious error to come to the sacrament confiding in the confession that has been made, or because one is not conscious of mortal sin, or

* Ordnung des Gottesdienstes, 1523.

† Jena Ed., I., p. 34.

has said his prayers and engaged in preparatory exercises: "Faith alone, the highest and most immediate preparation, makes us pure and worthy, because trust is not put in our own works or powers, but in the most pure, holy and sure Word of Christ, who says: 'Come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' And again: 'Blessed are they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled.' It is faith which justifies, purifies and renders worthy." * In his sermon on Penance, of the same year, he says: "All is at once given in faith, which alone makes the sacraments effect what they signify, and everything to be true which the priest says; for as thou believest, so is it done unto thee. Without faith all absolution, all the sacraments are vain; yea, they do more harm than good." † Thus is gained the second great fundamental principle of the Reformation, the righteousness of faith. This yields the second necessary condition of worship, namely, that of subjective truth, which bases worship not on a divine appointment as such, but on the activity of the worshiper's faith, which an officiating priest can neither create nor annul. Worship is the approach of the individual soul to God. Hence it must be conducted in spirit and in truth, John iv. 24. The individual must hear the Word and receive the sacrament for himself, and then, on the ground of the grace communicated in the Word and sacrament, he must pray, confess and give thanks of himself and for himself; but in connection with the praying, confessing and grateful Church, which seeks through individuals to declare the worship of God in spirit and in truth, as a present and substantial reality, and not to render it as a symbolical representation of the true and spiritual worship. The conclusion from this is inevitable: If the individual must go before God with his own prayer, confession and praise, then a separate priesthood is not an essential of divine worship. The individual can comfort himself out of Word and sacrament, or the con-

*Jena Ed., I., p. 176.

† Jena Ed., I., p. 319.

gregation, for the sake of good order, can appoint one of her members to the office of teacher and minister of the means of grace.

Luther was not slow to see the conclusion involved in his doctrine of the righteousness of faith in the individual. Hence in his tract on The Abrogation of Private Mass, he asserts that "The priesthood of Christ is spiritual, and is common to all Christians. All who are Christians are priests in the same sense in which Christ is a priest, that is, are sons of Christ the High Priest. Hence we have no need of any Mediator except Christ, since every priest, according to Hebrews, fifth chapter, prays for the people and teaches the people. But every Christian prays for himself in Christ and has personal access to God (Romans v)." And again: "The Christian people are one. Among them there is no distinction, no difference of persons. There ought to be no laymen, no clergymen. No one ought to be shaven or anointed. There ought to be no monk, no nun, but all without distinction, whether married or single, as each one may choose. Bishops or presbyters, elders or deacons, ought to differ in no respect from other Christians, except only in the administration of the Word and sacrament, just as a senator differs in no respect from his fellow-citizens except in the office of governing the people." *

He also drew the following antithesis between the priesthood of Christ and the priesthood of the Pope:

CHRISTIAN.	PRIESTHOOD.	PAPISTICAL.
Christ the High Priest, His law, the grace of life, Sacrifice, his own body, Good works, to serve one's neighbor, Sins, the omission of commands, Punishment, eternal death, Reward, eternal glory, Ministers, preachers of the Gospel, Experience, the cross with joy,	Pope the High Priest. His law, the tradition of the canon law. Sacrifice, Eucharist and money. Good works, ceremonies. Sins, the omission of commands.† Punishment, false excommunication. Reward, peace and riches of the world. Ministers, declaimers of vanities. Experience, a bad conscience.	Jena Ed., II., p. 491.

* Jena Ed., II., pp. 468, 473.

† In the antithesis the original is the same: *Peccata Praedictorum omissio*.

All this taken together not only sweeps away the last vestige of the *opus operatum*, but it leaves no room for a mediating priesthood. Worship is worship, not because a certain work has been performed by a certain delegated person, but in so far as it is a true expression of the worshiper's true relation to God, and on the part of the congregation is the evidence of its own spiritual life. "In a word, worship is really worship in proportion as it is not merely *ex thesi*, but *de facto*, the service of the congregation, a proving and a certifying of the life of faith pulsating in the individuals, an act of the universal priesthood." *

Thus is established a third principle which enters into the conception and celebration of Evangelical Worship, viz., that it is to be participated in by the people, and that there can be no proper celebration of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, except there be communicants who actually receive the sacrament, "for the sacrament is a communion of all saints, hence its name *Communio*, that is, communion; and in Latin, *Communicare* means to receive the sacrament, or as we say in German, to go to the sacrament. It means that Christ and all his saints are one spiritual body." †

But the abrogation of the priesthood is the abrogation of the sacrifice, or *vice versa*, since the one is the correlate of the other.

In the second part of the tract on the Abrogation of the Private Mass, Luther overthrows the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass: "We have the example of Christ, which is for our instruction. Christ says: 'Do this in remembrance of me.' What is it to 'do this?' Is it not that which I am now doing with you? Did he with golden chalice and pall and endless paraphernalia, make a sacrifice? By no means."

Again: "To make a sacrifice out of it is to change the very substance of the sacrament and institution of Christ!" ‡

He further declares that the Eucharist is not an *officium*

* Kœstlin, *Geschichte*, p. 143.

† Erlangen Ed., 27, p. 29.

‡ Jena Ed., II., pp. 476-7.

of man, but a *beneficium* for man. Christ is not sacrificed in the Eucharist: He is given and applied.

Thus a fourth principle is gained for Evangelical Worship. The worshiper in the Eucharistic service is not a donor, but the recipient of a divine gift. The grace of salvation, the forgiveness of sins, is imparted, sealed, but not unconditionally. There must be remembrance of Christ and faith in his Word: "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

These now are the four great fundamental principles of the Reformation, viz: (1) the supreme and normative authority of the Word of God; (2) the personal faith of the individual; (3) the universal priesthood of believers; (4) the sacraments as means of grace to worthy recipients.

But these principles were not merely so many theological propositions to be held by the understanding. They had entered into Luther's heart and had become a part of his experience. "The gospel is a joyous message which declares that the law has been fulfilled and that Christ the fulfiller of the law is our righteousness, sanctification and redemption. The conscience has peace when it perceives the grace and mercy of God in Christ, and is certified that Christ's merit has been imparted to us." Time and again does he speak of the joyous experience of salvation. What had filled his heart pours forth from his lips: "Some one might say to me: can you do nothing but talk against human righteousness, wisdom and strength, and must you always be explaining the Scriptures in regard to the righteousness and grace of God, and thus play on only one string and sing only one little song?"

"I answer: Let each look to himself. I confess for myself that when I have found Christ in a small degree in the Scriptures, I have not been satisfied. So often as I have found more of Christ I have not become the poorer; I am certain that God the Holy Ghost neither knows nor wishes to know more than Jesus Christ, as he says: 'He will declare me.

He will not speak of himself, but he will take of mine and show it unto you.' Christ is God's grace, mercy, righteousness, truth, wisdom, strength, comfort, salvation, given to us of God freely. Christ, I say, not (as some blindly say) *causaliter*, because he gives righteousness, and remains away; for that is dead, yea, is not given at all. Christ is also there; just as the rays of the sun and the heat of the fire do not exist where the sun and the fire are not."*

But the experience of salvation which filled Luther's own soul, he sought to impart to others. The great principles, of the supreme authority of the Word of God, of personal faith, of the universal priesthood of believers, of the sacraments as means of grace, could have value for Luther as a "sworn doctor of Holy Scripture" only in so far as they could be practically applied in comforting and edifying poor sinful souls.

The practical application of the first principle is the translation of the Word of God into the language of the people. This Luther began at the Wartburg in 1521. In the following year he published the New Testament; and in 1534 the entire Bible was published in German. The second and third principles were applied in the frequent and earnest preaching of the divine Word which Luther restored to the chief place in divine worship, and regarded as the chief instrument for begetting and increasing faith. On this point Dr. Plitt remarks: "It had been constantly taught by Luther that no person comes of himself to the faith which brings communion with God, and that no one can prepare himself for it, but that it is wrought alone by the power of God through the Holy Ghost. But in the work of grace on the spirit of man, God uses external means. What he himself has appointed to this end, that he does not eschew. The chief means by which God approaches man is the Word, which convicts of sin and offers grace. This he commands to be preached, and he demands faith in it as something

* Erlangen Ed., 37, p. 441.

absolutely decisive. Yet the person who hears the Word does not himself bestow faith on himself. But God, when the Word is preached, works faith through the Spirit, who speaks in the Word. Where this Word is preached, there God reveals himself, there is communion with God, there is the Church. It is there already before the individuals, who by its instrumentality and by its witness come to faith, and are born again.”*

The fourth principle was applied in rejecting the Mass and in restoring the Lord’s Supper to a communion of the body and blood of Christ, as it had been originally instituted. In his tract on the Abomination of the Private Mass (1523 is the date given by Aurifaber), he says: “You have now heard and learned in the Gospel that we can be saved from sin, death, the devil and a bad conscience, and can come to true piety before God, and to eternal life, in no way by works and laws, whatever they may be and be called. God will have no means or mediator except his Son, whom the Father hath sent into the world and allowed to give his blood, that thereby he might secure for us the treasure of faith. . . .

“Therefore we have and know no sacrifice except that made by Christ on the cross, on which he died once, as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, and hath put away the sins of all men and hath sanctified us forever. This, I say, is our Gospel, that Christ has sanctified us through his sacrifice, and has redeemed us from sin, death, and the devil, and hath placed us in his heavenly kingdom. This we must embrace by faith alone, and maintain. So have we often preached and urged that every one might know it, and thence conclude that all our works undertaken for the purpose of repenting of sin and escaping death must all be blasphemous, and deny God, and mar the sacrifice made by Christ and his blood.”†

Luther’s activity in the renovation of the *ceremonies* of worship began in the year 1523. In a communication to

* Einleitung in die Augustana, p. 150.

† Erlangen Ed., 29, pp. 116, 117.

the Chapter of All Saints Church at Wittenberg, August 19th, 1523, he outlines an entirely new order of service. The letter is so important that we present it entire :

“ Grace and peace. Dearly beloved and venerable in Christ ; since you request that I prescribe a form of service for you by which the mercenary worship of your Church may be regulated, I will do what I can without hesitation, although there are those among you who could do it better, and who are better acquainted with your affairs and are not ignorant of ours. I cheerfully submit the following to your consideration :

“ In the first place, if it be true (as some of you testify) that there is disorder in those Masses, and that at least a great part are celebrated by drunken and lazy fellows, who care absolutely for nothing except money, which they try to get by their own bellowing, or by a display of their office—these should be either absolutely excluded, or should be forced to a condition of sobriety. For by no means is office or work to be endured, especially in sacred things, where the persons are not, as far as may be, regarded as suitable.

“ Secondly. Retaining or taking into service suitable persons, let absolutely all mercenary Masses and vigils be abolished, and that without considering whether there be some who still do not understand, or cannot understand, that the practice of such Masses is sacrilegious and abominable, since for almost two years they have heard and seen enough of these things. Neither under King Josiah did all the prophets of Baal understand their impieties ; yet Josiah did not regard them when he destroyed their idolatry. It is one thing to tolerate the weak in things indifferent ; but in things manifestly impious, it is impious to be tolerant ; and it is certain that we also are polluted with that impiety, if we bear it longer by keeping silent, as we have hitherto kept silent.

“ Thirdly. Let the morning and evening hours remain as the completorium, yet in such a way that only songs for the time be sung, but not about any saints except such as we

have from Scripture. Also the collects and songs which have reference to the worship of saints should be changed to collects and songs for the time.

“ But in the place of the Masses at the morning hours, let there be a lesson from the Old Testament before the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with exhortation according to Apostolic custom, and interpretation, as we read in 1 Cor. xiv. Let the president do this, or whoever pleases. Likewise at evening let there be a lesson from the New Testament with interpretation by Dr. Amsdorf or some one else, and this would be proper before the *Magnificat* instead of the hymns, or after the hymns. The completorium, because of its name and its signification, ought to be completed after supper and before going to sleep.

“ Fourthly. As hitherto presents were given to those who were present at Masses and vigils, and refused the absent, so now let them be given or withheld from those who are present or absent from the lections. Thus it will come about that those also can enjoy presents who wish to be godly, while hitherto no one could enjoy them unless he wished to be ungodly. However, without labor or service, none will now enjoy them who shall faithfully attend to the lections.

“ Fifthly. Let the minor chorus be reduced to some kind of order, or be entirely abolished, since absolutely and solely it leads to the worship of Mary as mediator instead of Christ.

“ Sixthly. On festivals and Lord’s days let one Mass be celebrated, if there are communicants who are accustomed to celebrate it of their own accord, or wish to.

REASON.

“ First in regard to the Mass. That it is neither a sacrifice nor a work is proved by the words of Christ, who instituted it, and by the example of the Apostles and the entire primitive Church. Ask the Mass priests what is the benefit and fruit of their Masses. If they shall say they are held for the putting away of sins or for the worship of God, that

manifestly is impious, since now there is only one sacrifice for putting away sins, namely, Christ, who was offered once, of whom we are all made partakers, not by performing a work or by offering a sacrifice, but alone by believing through the Word. To add to this sacrifice as though it had not taken away the sins of all, is blasphemous. Therefore, the conclusion stands, either that by the death of Christ sins present and future have not been blotted out, or the Mass cannot be a sacrifice or work for sins. When faith is exercised through the Mass, only the death of Christ is victorious over sins, and is efficacious in us, but not by work or sacrifice.

“Secondly. In regard to saints and vigils this is the reason: It is dangerous to attempt anything in sacred matters and before God, which does not have a sure testimony and example in the Scriptures. Therefore, although allowance may be made for the private devotion of a pious man, who may engage in these things according to his own feelings, yet it is not lawful to tolerate open and public worship in these things, on account of offense to the ignorant and weak who abandon faith and crowd to them. Therefore everything is brought under suspicion which has been introduced by false miracles and by private testimonies in regard to Scriptures.

“Therefore it is evident that this worship, outlined by us, was formerly common to all Christians. Afterwards, when the people lost their influence, only the ministers of the churches (and in Latin) observed it. Hence began the distinction between the clergy and the laity.

“Afterwards, by a greater evil, worship which had been common to all, began to be converted into a peculiar service of God, and thus out of lections and communion a work was made. Faith and the preaching of the Word were subordinated, until, to the supreme evil and ruin of all, the common worship began to be sold to the laity by the clergy for making atonement of sins and for reconciling God.

“ Thus, when Christ, the sole Mediator for men, was removed and gotten out of the way, those armies of mediators and intercessors came into his place. Care must be taken lest this happen again and last longer. But this can be done in no way except by recovering and preserving the ministry of the Word. If this form of worship shall seem simple and poor as compared with that former ostentatious and elaborate form, consider on the contrary how exceedingly simple Christ was when the worship among the Jews was most elaborate and imposing; and, again, how full and strong Christ was in faith and in charity by means of this simple form of worship.

“ These, most excellent sirs, are my suggestions. More may be seen in my tracts on vows and Masses. May the Lord, who has shined again upon you in goodness, illumine and warm your hearts, that ye may know and do his good, and acceptable, and perfect will. Amen,” etc.*

This letter contains Luther's entire system in epitome. It expresses with distinctness, and seeks to make a practical application of each of the great evangelical principles which had come to him through years of devout study of the divine Word, and had been tested by his own experience. It deserves a monumental place by the side of the three distinctively liturgical writings in which Luther specifically discusses the principles of divine worship, and provides forms in which it is to be conducted. These are:

1. The Order of Divine Service in the Congregation, 1523.

2. The Formula Missae, 1523.

3. The German Mass, 1526.

“ The first named of these writings is taken up with the subordinate and week-day services. The second, the *Formula Missae*, gives a form of the Chief Divine Service as it was arranged when only the absolutely objectionable is excluded and the rest is retained.”†

* De Wette, II., pp. 389-391.

† Kœstlin, Geschichte, p. 171.

The third, the German Mass, carries out still more fully those ideas of simplicity in evangelical worship which had been so clearly expressed in the letter to the Chapter of All Saints at Wittenberg.

As these three writings are of fundamental importance for the study and comprehension of Lutheran worship, we give them entire in the next chapter.

Though it is proper to introduce here a few paragraphs on the earliest attempts of Reformers to purify worship from unevangelical elements.

Already in the year 1520, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt demanded a biblical order of worship, and in the next year he insisted that the pericopes should be regularly explained to the people. On Christmas day, 1521, the Lord's Supper was administered by Karlstadt "in ordinary attire, without ornaments and special ceremonies, to two thousand persons."* On New Year's day, 1522, and on the following Sundays, he administered the Lord's Supper in the same way in the German language to all who desired it. He also drew up a social and ecclesiastical constitution, which was accepted and approved by the university and town council. This *Order for the Town of Wittenberg* lays down the fundamental principle that "when the Mass is held the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ must be preached, and always the Word of God and the Mass must be ministered at the same time. The Mass shall not be held otherwise than as instituted by Christ. On account of the weak in faith, the Introit, the Kyrie Eleison et in Terra, the Epistle, the Gradual without the sequence, the Gospel, the Creed without the Offertorium, the Sanctus, shall be sung. Both Canons are to be omitted, because they are contrary to the Scripture. Care must be taken to preach the evangelical Mass. If there be communicants, the consecration shall take place. The priest may commune if he wishes."†

Pictures and altars in the churches were to be removed,

* Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. XXII., p. 125.

† Studien und Kritiken, 1897, p. 820. Andreas Bodenstein von Karl-

“so that idolatry may be avoided, for three altars without pictures are enough.” The communicant was also permitted to take the consecrated host in his hand and to put it to his mouth.

This *Order*, though it was not long used in Wittenberg, left an abiding impression on worship among the Lutherans. It fixed the custom of retaining the evangelical elements of the traditional service; of omitting the Canon; of giving the chief place to the sermon; of consecrating the bread and wine in the vernacular; of giving both forms to the communicant. The Church at Wittenberg did not return to the use of the Latin language in celebrating the Lord's Supper, and its example was followed in 1522 by Rudolph Weissenberg in Basel, by Casper Kantz in Nordlingen, by Pastor Zell in Strassburg. At Easter in 1523 Thomas Münzer introduced the German Mass in Alstädt in Thuringia.

These Reformers and others applied Luther's principles before he himself did, and they made it comparatively easy for Luther to introduce the *Deutsche Messe* in 1525. Karlstadt's changes were revolutionary, but they were not so radical as they are sometimes supposed to have been. Smend very properly says: “In regard to the traditional order the change manifestly was not excessively revolutionary.”*

stadt. By Barge, I., p. 379. Richter, Kirchenordnungen, II., p. 484., C. R., I., p. 540, Seckendorf, Historia, Vol. I., p. 217.

* Die Evang. deutschen Messen, p. 3.

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS.

I.

OF THE ORDER OF DIVINE WORSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION.

[The Erlangen Editor of Luther's works gives the titles of eight distinct editions of this tract, all of which are dated 1523. The first in the list of titles is as follows: Von ordenung | gottisdienst yn | der gemeyne | Doctor Martin | Luther. | Wittenberg. | M. D. XXIII. We translate from the text of the edition under this title, as given in the Erlangen Edition of Luther's works, Vol. XXII., p. 153, *et seq.*]

THE divine worship which now prevails everywhere has a noble Christian origin, as has also the office of preaching. But as the office of preaching has been corrupted by priestly tyrants, so also the divine worship has been corrupted by hypocrites.

As we do not abolish the office of preaching, but desire to bring it again to its true position, so also it is not our intention to abolish divine worship, but to bring it again to a proper course.

THE ABUSES.

Three great abuses have come into divine worship. The first is that the Word of God has been silenced, and there is only reading and singing in the churches. This is the most mischievous abuse. Secondly, when the Word of God was silenced, there came in so many unchristian fables and lies, in legends, songs and sermons, that it is dreadful to behold them. Thirdly, that such service is to be performed as a work with which to secure God's grace and salvation. Then faith ceased, and every one desired to found churches, and to become a priest, a monk, or a nun.

IMPORTANCE OF PREACHING.

Now, in order to reform these abuses, we must know first

of all that the Christian congregation should never assemble except the Word of God be preached and prayer be offered, even though it be very short, as in Psalm cii. When the king and the people assemble to worship God, they should proclaim the name and praise of God.

The Apostle Paul says, 1 Cor. xiv. : " In the congregation there shall be prophesying, teaching and admonishing." Therefore, where God's Word is not preached, it were better neither to sing, nor to read, nor to assemble.

THE MORNING WORSHIP.

The custom which existed at the time of the Apostles should still be in vogue, namely, that Christians assembled an hour every morning when a pupil, or a priest, or some one else read, just as now the lesson is read at matins. This should be done by one or two persons, or by one after another, just as may be for the best.

Then should the preacher, or whoever has been appointed, come forward and explain a part of the lesson, so that the others may understand it, learn and be admonished. This first service Paul calls speaking with tongues (1 Cor. xiv.), the other explaining and prophesying and speaking with the understanding.

Where this is not done the congregation receives no benefit from the lesson, as hitherto has been the case in cloisters and churches, where they have only puffed against the walls.

The lesson should be from the Old Testament. One book should be taken up and a chapter or two read, or half a chapter, until the end is reached. Then another should be taken up, and so on, until the whole Bible shall be explained; and where it cannot be understood, it should be passed over, and God honored.

Thus by daily use of the Scripture, Christians become intelligent and versed in the Scripture, for in this way in former times excellent Christians were produced, and virgins and martyrs; and should be still.

Now after the reading and explanation have lasted half an hour, or longer, the congregation should thank and praise God and pray for the fruit of the Word, etc. For this a Psalm shall be used, or some good responsories, or an antiphon, but brief, so that all may be done in an hour, or as long as it pleases. For souls must not be burdened, so as to become tired and disgusted, as hitherto in cloisters and churches they have had to bear a donkey's burden.

THE EVENING SERVICE.

Likewise at five or six in the evening the people should assemble again. At this time the books of the Old Testament, one after another, should be taken up, namely, the prophets, just as in the morning the books of Moses and the histories. But since the New Testament is also a book of the Bible, I use the Old Testament in the morning, and the New in the evening, or *vice versa*, and thus read, explain, praise, sing and pray, as in the morning for an hour. This is all done that the Word of God may come into use and souls may be edified and quickened, and not become indifferent.

OTHER SERVICES.

Another service may also be held after dinner, if thought desirable.

Although the whole congregation may not be able to attend these daily services, yet this should be done by the priests and pupils, and those who hope to become good preachers and pastors. They must also be admonished that this is a voluntary matter, to be done without constraint or dislike, and not for a reward either temporal or eternal, but alone for the glory of God and for the good of our neighbor.

But on Sundays the whole congregation should assemble, in addition to the daily assembly of small companies, and then, as heretofore has been customary, sing the Mass and the vespers, but in such a way that at both times the congregation may hear preaching, in the morning on the Gospel,

in the evening on the Epistle; or the preacher may take a book or two as he may think profitable.

THE SACRAMENT.

If any one should desire to receive the sacrament, it shall be given to him, as this can be done in regular order according to the circumstances of the time and persons.

The daily Masses shall by all means be abolished, for as compared with the Word, there is nothing in the Mass. Yet if on days other than Sundays, some shall desire the sacrament, a Mass may be held, as devotion and time permit, for in this matter no law nor limit can be fixed.

The singing in the Sunday Masses and vespers shall remain, for that is very good, and is taken from Scripture, yet it may be diminished or increased. But it shall be the duty of the pastor and preacher to regulate the singing and the Psalms so that in the morning a Psalm or suitable responsory, or an antiphon with a collect, may be appointed; in the evening, likewise, there shall be reading and singing together after the lesson and explanation. But the antiphon, responsories and collects, the legends of the saints and of the cross, may be omitted for a while yet, until they shall be purified, for they contain an abominable amount of filth.

THE FESTIVALS.

The festivals of all the saints shall be abolished, except that on Sunday a good Christian story may be introduced after the Gospel as an illustration. Nevertheless the festivals of purification, of annunciation of Mary I would retain. The assumption and nativity must also be retained for a time, even though the singing in them is not pure. The festival of John the Baptist is pure. The legend of the Apostles is not pure, except that of St. Paul. Therefore it may be used on Sundays, or if desirable, especially celebrated.

THE CHIEF THING.

There are other things which will shape themselves with

time, but the chief thing is that everything may be done in such a manner that the Word may have free course, and not again become a howl and sound as it heretofore has been. It were better that all be abandoned rather than the Word, and there is nothing better than the Word; and that it should have free course among Christians, the whole Scriptures show, and Christ himself said, Luke x. : "One thing is needful, namely, that Mary should sit at Christ's feet and hear his Word daily, which is that best part which she has chosen, and which shall never be taken from her." There is one eternal Word. Everything else must pass away, no matter how much concern it may cause Martha. To this may God help us. Amen.

Very properly has Kliefoth remarked: "In this first word which was uttered by the Lutheran Church on matters of divine worship, lie its principles in full."* And Daniel declares: "He (Luther) does not wish to abolish, but to reform and restore."† He is eminently conservative. He is not willing to shock the people by radical changes. He wishes to retain whatever is good and pure in the services of the Church. He is intent chiefly on quickening and elevating the people, that they may honor God and do good to their fellow-men. Two things deserve special attention:

I. Preaching is restored to its proper place as the central point of divine worship. "The Christian congregation should never assemble, except the Word of God be preached and prayer be offered, even though it be very short—where the Word of God is not preached, it were better neither to sing, nor read, nor to assemble. One thing is needful, namely, that Mary should sit at Christ's feet and hear his Word daily, which is that best part." The position here given to preaching has been, and still is, a marked feature of Lutheran worship, which has, as Guericke says, "its all supporting centre and foundation in the pure declaration of

* P. 8.

† Codex Lit., II., p. 75.

the divine Word through the sermon as the integrating member of an organic totality.”*

2. He (Luther) found the Word of God especially supplanted by the festivals of the saints, through legends and unchristian stories—“an abominable amount of filth.” Therefore he wished to have almost all these festivals abolished. † In this writing he would retain only five of the festivals then in current use. In his *Formula Missae* he mentions one or two additional which he would retain. At this time, almost every day in the year had its saint, who was in some way honored or remembered in the worship of the Church. The Sabbath was greatly depreciated. It was this condition of things which led Luther to wish “That every festival be abolished, and that the Sabbath alone be retained. But if there still be a desire to observe the festivals of our lady and of the great saints, that they all be transferred to the Sabbath, or observed only in the morning at Mass, after which the whole day [other than the Sabbath] may be a work day.”‡

II.

THE FORMULA MISSAE.

[The title given in the Erlangen edition of Luther's works is *Formula Missæ et Communions pro Ecclesia Vuittenbergensi*, 1523. Dr. Henry Schmidt, the Erlangen editor, says: “Luther was frequently importuned both by others and by Nicholas Hausman, first pastor (Luther calls him *Episcopus*) of the people of Zwickau, or the church of the Swan, to set forth and prescribe a form for saying Mass and for Communion. He conceived the purpose of yielding to these requests and importunities in the month of October in the year 1523, and in the month of November of the same year composed, and in the month of December published, the book in which he arranged a plan of the Mass for the Wittenberg church, though indeed, without enjoining that any one should not embrace or follow another.

“In the year 1523, this book was published in quarto and in octavo form, and in the following year Paul Speratus translated it into the German language, and having dedicated it by the authority of Luther to his former Iglavian parishioners in Moravia, published it under the

* *Symbolik*, p. 664.

† Plitt, *Einleitung*, p. 334.

‡ Erlangen Ed., 21, 329.

title Eyn Wege Christlich Mass zu halten und Zum tisch Gottes zu gehen, Martinus Luther, Wittenberg, M. D. XXIV."

The translation given below is made from the Erlangen (Latin), edition of Luther's works, Vol. VII., p. 2, *et seq.*]

For the venerable in Christ, Dr. Nicholas Hausman, Pastor of the church of the Swan, blessed in Christ,

Martin Luther

Prays grace and peace in Christ.

CHANGES MUST BE GRADUAL.

Hitherto in my books and sermons to the people I have tried first to call away their hearts from impious opinions in regard to ceremonies, and thought that I was doing something Christian and advantageous by causing the destruction, without violence, of the abomination which Satan had set up in the holy place by the Man of Sin. Hence I attempted nothing by violence or by authority, nor did I exchange the old for the new, for I always hesitated and feared on account of persons weak in faith, from whom the old and familiar mode of worshipping God cannot suddenly be taken away in favor of a new and untried mode. There are especially the trifling and fastidious spirits, who, like unclean swine, rush headlong without faith or sense, and delight in novelty only, and then are disgusted as soon as the novelty ceases. Such persons are troublesome enough in other things, but in holy things they are most troublesome and intolerable. Nevertheless, though full of indignation, I am compelled to bear with them, unless I am willing that the Gospel itself be removed.

But since now there is hope that the hearts of many have been enlightened and strengthened by the grace of God, something must be risked in the name of Christ, that at length scandals in regard to the kingdom of Christ may be removed. It is proper, also, that we make provision for even the few, lest while we constantly dread the levity and abuses, we provide for none at all, and while we wish to avoid future scandals, we strengthen all their abominations.

Hence, most excellent Nicholas, as you have frequently requested, we will treat of a godly form for saying Mass (as they call it) and for administering Communion; and we will do it in such a way as no longer to rule hearts by the word of doctrine only. We will apply our hand to making provision for the public administration; yet we will hinder no one from embracing and following another. Yea, we earnestly, and for Christ's sake, beseech that if anything better shall have been revealed to them, they bid us be silent, that by a common labor we may serve the common cause.

In the first place we declare that it is not and has never been our intention entirely to abolish all divine worship, but to purify that now in use, though defiled by the most abominable additions, and to indicate its pious use. For it cannot be denied that Masses and the Communion of bread and wine, is a rite instituted by Christ, which at first under Christ himself and afterward under the Apostles, was celebrated in the most simple and pious manner without any additions. But in the course of time it was augmented by so many human inventions that nothing of the Mass and Communion has come down to our times, except the name.

THE ANCIENT SERVICE.

The additions of the early fathers, who are said to have prayed a Psalm or two with subdued voice before blessing the bread and wine, are commendable. Athanasius and Cyprian are thought to have done this. We also approve those who subsequently added the Kyrie Eleison. We read that under Basil the Great the Kyrie Eleison was used in public by all the people. Also the reading of the Epistles and the Gospels was and is necessary, unless it be a fault that they were not read in a language understood by the people. Afterwards when chanting was begun, the Psalms were changed into the introit. Then was added the angelic hymn, the Gloria in Excelsis, et in terra pax. Likewise the graduals, the Halleluia, the Agnus Dei, the Communion. All

these are such as cannot be censured, especially those which are sung *de tempore* and on Lord's days. These days alone still testify to ancient purity, except the Canon.

CORRUPTION OF THE ANCIENT SERVICE.

But now when any one was allowed to add and to change as he pleased, then by reason of the tyranny of money and sacerdotal ambition, those altars and insignia of Baal and of all the gods began to be placed in the temple of the Lord by our impious kings, that is, bishops and pastors. Here an impious Ahaz took away the golden altar and substituted for it another brought from Damascus: I speak of that mangled and abominable Canon, gathered from every source of filth and corruption. Then the Mass began to be made a sacrifice; offertories and mercenary collects were added; sequences and proses were placed between the Sanctus and the Gloria in Excelsis. Then the Mass began to be a sacerdotal monopoly exhausting the resources of the whole world, and flooding the whole earth like a vast desert, with those rich, idle, powerful, voluptuous and unclean celibates. Hence Masses for the dead, for journeys, for riches, and who can count the names alone for which the Mass was made a sacrifice?

And the Canon is still increasing and is adding acts and communicants to the various festivals. I say nothing about the commemoration of the living and the dead, which is not yet brought to its end. But what shall I say about the external additions of garments, vessels, tapers, palls, organs, musical apparatus and pictures? There was scarcely a manufactory in the whole world which was not in large part supported and enriched by the Mass.

Therefore, let these things be passed by, and, under the revelation of the Gospel, let them pass by so great abominations until they shall have been entirely abolished. Meanwhile we will prove all things and hold fast that which is good. But in this book we will not say that the Mass is not

a sacrifice or a good work, because we have taught enough on that subject elsewhere. We treat it as a sacrament or testament; or in Latin, blessing, in Greek, Eucharist; or the Lord's table, or the Lord's Supper, or the remembrance of the Lord, or communion, or by whatever godly name you please, provided it be not polluted by the title of sacrifice or work, and we will indicate the rite according to which we think it ought to be used.

THE INTROITS.

First. The Introits of the Lord's days and at the festivals, namely, Easter, Pentecost, Nativity, we approve and retain, although we would prefer the Psalms, whence they have been taken, as formerly, but now we allow the accepted use. But if any wish to approve the Introits of the Apostles, the Virgin and other saints (since they have been taken from the Psalms and other Scriptures), I will not object. We at Wittenberg seek to keep Sabbath on Lord's days only, and on festivals of the Lord. The festivals of all the saints we think ought to be entirely abolished, or if there be anything worthy in them, they ought to be connected with the sermons of the Lord's days. The feast of Purification and Annunciation we observe as feasts of Christ, as Epiphany and Circumcision. In place of the festival of St. Stephen and John the Evangelist, we like the office of the Nativity. Let the festivals of the Holy Cross be Anathema. Let others act with regard to their own conscience or the weakness of others, as the Spirit directs.

THE KYRIE.

Secondly. The Kyrie Eleison, as it has been employed hitherto with various melodies for the different seasons, we retain, with the Angelic Hymn following: The Gloria in Excelsis. Yet it may be omitted as often as the pastor shall wish.

COLLECT AND EPISTLE.

Thirdly. The prayer or collect, provided it be godly (as

those are generally which are said on the Lord's day), should hold its place, but let there be only one. After this the reading of the Epistle. The time has not yet come for any innovation here, since nothing impious is read. However, since rarely those parts of Paul's Epistles are read in which faith is taught, but much rather those which are moral and hortatory, the person who arranged the Epistles seems to have been a remarkably unlearned and superstitious promoter of works. Duty required that for the most part, those should be arranged in which is taught faith in Christ. This certainly is observed more frequently in the Gospels, whoever was the author of those lessons. But meanwhile, preaching in the vernacular will supply this. If it should turn out that Mass should be celebrated in the vernacular (which may Christ grant), care must be taken to have the Epistles and Gospels read in their best and most important parts.

THE GRADUAL AND HALLELUIAH.

Fourth. The gradual of two verses, together with the Halleluiah, or either, as the pastor pleases, may be sung. Furthermore the graduals for Lent and the like which exceed two verses, any one may sing at his own home. We are not willing that the spirit of the faithful shall be extinguished by fatigue. It is not right to distinguish Lent and Holy Week or Good Friday by rites which differ from those of other festivals, lest we should appear to wish still further to mock and banter Christ with a half Mass or a part of the sacrament. For the Halleluiah is a perpetual voice of the Church, as it is a perpetual memory of her passion and victory.

SEQUENCES.

Fifth. We admit no sequences and proses, unless the brief one on the nativity of Christ, *Grates nunc omnes*, be desired by the pastor; nor in general those which refer to the Spirit, except those about the Holy Spirit; Sancti Spiritus and

Veni Sancte Spiritus. These may be chanted either after dinner or at vespers, or during Mass if the pastor desire.

THE GOSPEL AND THE CREED.

Sixth. The reading of the Gospel comes next, in which we prohibit neither candles nor incense, neither do we require them. Let that be free.

Seventh. The chanting of the Nicene Creed, as the custom is, does not displease us; nevertheless, this also is in the hands of the pastor. We have the same view in regard to preaching in the vernacular: It makes no difference whether it take place here after the Creed, or before the introduction of the Mass; although as the Gospel is a voice crying in the wilderness and calling the unbelieving to faith, there is a reason why it should rather take place before the Mass. But the Mass is the use of the Gospel and the communion of the Lord's table, which belongs to the believers, and ought to take place in private. Nevertheless, that reason does not bind us who are free, especially since all things that are done, up to the Creed in the Mass, are ours and are free, and are not required of God. Hence they do not belong necessarily to the Mass.

THE OFFERTORY.

Eighth. That entire abomination to which everything that preceded in the Mass has been made subservient, follows; whence it is also called offertory, and hence almost all sounds and smells of oblation. In the midst of these things have been placed those words of life and salvation, just as formerly the ark of the Lord was placed in the temple of idols alongside of Dagon. Nor is there any Israelite who can either approach or bring back the ark until it itself has branded the backs of its enemies with eternal shame, and compelled them to put it down, which is a parable for the present time. Then, rejecting all those things which sound of oblation, together with the entire Canon, let us retain

such things as are pure and holy, and so let us order our Mass.

THE PREPARATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

1. During the Creed or after the Canon, * let the bread and wine be prepared for the blessing by the accustomed rite. I have not yet decided whether or not water should be mixed with the wine, although I am inclined to have pure wine prepared without mixing it with water, since the expression given in the first chapter of Isaiah restrains me: Your wine, he says, is mixed with water. Pure wine beautifully represents the purity of evangelical doctrine. Besides, only the blood of Christ alone, whom we there commemorate unmixed with our own, was shed for us. Nor can the dream of those stand, who say that there our union with Christ is figuratively represented and that we do not here make remembrance of this union. Neither are we united before the shedding of Christ's blood, otherwise our blood shed for ourselves would be celebrated together with the blood of Christ. Yet I will not introduce a superstitious law in opposition to Christian liberty. Christ will care but little about such things, nor is the matter worthy of contention. This foolish controversy and many others have been sufficiently indulged in by the Roman and Greek Churches. The argument that water and blood flowed from the side of Christ proves nothing. That water does not mean what they wish to be meant by this mixing with water, neither was that mixed with the blood. Moreover, the figure does not prove anything. The illustration does not avail. Wherefore as a human contrivance let it be regarded as a matter of liberty.

THE PREFACE.

2. When the bread and wine have been prepared, let the following be the order: The Lord be with you. Response: And with thy Spirit. Lift up your hearts. Response: It

* The Jena edition has: "after the Sermon," which is probably the true reading, since the Canon is abolished.

is meet and just. It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we always and everywhere give thanks unto thee, Holy God, Father Omnipotent, Eternal God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Then

THE CONSECRATION.

3. On the day before he suffered, he took bread, gave thanks, brake and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you. Likewise, also, the cup after he had supped, saying: This is the cup in the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. As oft as ye do this, ye do it in remembrance of me.

After a brief pause after the Preface I wish these words of Christ to be said in the tone of voice in which the Lord's Prayer is said in the Canon, so that it may be heard by those present; although in all these things let pious souls have liberty to recite those words either silently or aloud.

THE ELEVATION.

4. When the consecration is completed, let the choir sing the Sanctus, and during the singing of the Benedictus, let the bread and cup be elevated, as hitherto has been done, on account of the weak who would be offended at a sudden change of this more prominent part of the service in the Mass, especially where they had been taught by sermons in the vernacular what is intended by such elevation.

THE LORD'S PRAYER AND PAX.

5. Then let the Lord's Prayer be read thus: Admonished by thy salutary precepts, let us pray, etc. Omit the prayer, "*Deliver us, we pray,*" together with all the signs that are usually made over the host and with the host over the cup; neither is the host to be broken or dipped into the cup. But immediately after the Lord's Prayer say the Pax Domini, etc., which is a public absolution of the communicants from sin, a voice truly evangelical announcing the remission

of sins, the sole and most worthy preparation for the Lord's table, if it be apprehended by faith, and not otherwise than if it proceeded out of the mouth of Christ. Hence, I wish it should be said with face turned toward the people, as is the custom of the pastors, which is the only vestige of the ancient pastors among our pastors.

THE COMMUNION.

6. Then let him administer the Communion to himself and to the people. Meanwhile let the Agnus Dei be sung. If he desire to pray before the Communion the prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, who, by the will of the Father," etc., he will not pray amiss, only it should be changed from the singular to the plural, ours and us for mine and me. Likewise the prayer: "The body of the Lord, etc., keep my soul and thine unto eternal life."

THE CLOSING SERVICE.

7. If there be a desire to chant the Communion, let it be chanted. But in the place of the final closing collect, which generally contains the idea of sacrifice, read in the same tone the prayer: "What we have received with the mouth, O Lord." Also may be read the prayer: "Thy body, O Lord, which we have received, etc., who livest and reignest," changing to the plural number. In place of the *Ite Missa*, let the *Benedicamus Domino* be said, together with the Alleluia in its own melodies (where and when it pleases), or the *Benedicamus* may be adapted from those which belong to the vespers.

8. Let the usual benediction be given, or use that in the sixth chapter of Numbers, which the Lord himself composed. saying: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face shine upon thee," etc. Or the ninety-sixth Psalm: "The Lord our God bless us, and let all the ends of the earth fear him. Amen." So I think Christ used it when ascending to heaven he blessed his disciples.

It is also left free to the pastor to take or administer the

two elements in whatever order he may wish. He may bless the bread and wine consecutively, before he takes the bread, or between the blessing of the bread and wine he may administer the bread to himself and to as many as may wish it, and then give to all to drink, which order seems to have been employed by Christ, as the words of the Gospel indicate, since he commenced to eat the bread before he blessed the cup, and then it is said expressly: "Likewise also the cup when he had supped," so that you see the cup was blessed after the eating. But this very new rite will not allow these things to be done which we have hitherto mentioned after the blessing, unless they also be changed.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY IN RELATION TO FORMS OF WORSHIP.

Such are our views in regard to the Mass, in all which things care must be taken lest we make a law out of liberty, or cause those to sin who either would do differently, or would omit certain things, provided they retain the words of blessing in their integrity, and act here with faith. For such ought to be the rites of Christians, that is, of the children of the free woman, who voluntarily and *ex animo* are to observe these things, prepared to change them whenever and in whatever manner they wish. Hence it is not proper for any one either to seek or to institute any necessary form as a law in this matter, by which he may ensnare or vex consciences. Wherefore even in the early fathers and even in the primitive Church we read of no form of this rite as fixed, except in the Roman Church. And if any should enact a law in this matter, they are not to be obeyed, because these things neither can nor ought to be bound by laws.

Again: Even if different persons do use diverse rites, let no one either judge or despise another, but let each one stand by his own opinion, and let us understand and think the same thing, even though we do different things, and let the rite of each please the other, lest diverse opinions and sects follow diversity of rites, as has occurred in the Roman

Church. For external rites, even though we cannot do without them, as we cannot do without food and drink, nevertheless do not commend us to God. But faith and love do commend us to God. Hence the passage from Paul governs here: "The Kingdom of Heaven is neither meat nor drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Thus no rite is the Kingdom of God, but faith within you, etc.

VESTMENTS.

We have passed by vestments. But in regard to these we think as we do in regard to other rites. We permit them to be used in liberty, provided pomp and luxury be absent. For neither are you more acceptable if you consecrate in vestments, nor less acceptable if you consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God. But I do not want them to be consecrated or blessed as though they are sacred as compared to other vestments, except by that general consecration by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified; otherwise it is a mere superstition and impiety, introduced by spiritual abomination, as also other things.

THE COMMUNION OF THE PEOPLE.

Thus have we spoken in regard to the Mass and the office of the minister or pastor. Now we will speak of the mode of administering the Communion to the people, for whose sake especially the Supper of the Lord was instituted and is called by that name (Communion). For as it is extremely absurd for the minister of the Word to become so silly as to preach the Word publicly when there are no hearers, and declaim to himself only amid the rocks and trees or under the open sky, so it is most perverse for ministers to prepare and furnish the Lord's Supper in public where there are no guests to eat and drink, and where only they who ought to minister to others, eat and drink at an empty table, or in an empty hall. Hence, if we wish to consider the institution

of Christ properly, no private Mass ought to be left in the Church, unless it be that infirmity be tolerated for the time.

THE EXAMINATION OF COMMUNICANTS.

Here the custom ought to be preserved which is observed in baptism, namely, that it should be made known to the pastor who are going to commune, that they themselves seek to have the Lord's Supper administered to them, in order that he may learn their names and manner of life, and that he may not admit those making request unless they can give a reason for their faith, and when questioned show by their answers, whether they know what the Lord's Supper is, what it offers, and what use they wish to make of it. For instance, if they can recite from memory the words of blessing, and show that they come because being harassed by the consciousness of sin, or by the fear of death, or by any other temptation of the flesh, the world and the devil, they desire to eat and drink the word and sign of grace and salvation from the Lord himself through the ministry of the pastor, by which ministry they are consoled and comforted, as with unspeakable love Christ instituted and appointed in this Supper, when he said, "Take and eat," etc. But I think it suffices for this inquiry or examination, if it occur once a year with the person who seeks to commune. The person will not be so intelligent who seeks to be examined only once in a whole lifetime, or indeed, never. By this custom we seek to prevent the worthy and the unworthy from rushing to the Lord's Supper, as we have hitherto seen done in the Roman Church, where nothing was sought except the Communion, and where absolutely there was no thought or mention of faith, consolation and the whole use and fruit of the Supper. They also concealed the very words of blessing, that is, the very bread of life, doing it with great zeal, yea, with perfect fury, in order that the communicants might work a good work by their own worth, and not nourish and strengthen faith by the merit of Christ.

But those who cannot respond according to what has been said above, we wish to be entirely excluded from participation in this Supper, as not having on the wedding garment.

Then, when the pastor shall have seen that they understand all these things, he will also observe whether in life and character they approve such faith and knowledge, for Satan also knows and can speak of all these things. That is, if he (the pastor) shall see any whoremonger, adulterer, drunkard, gambler, usurer, slanderer, or a person notorious on account of any crime, let him exclude such an one absolutely from this Supper, unless it be seen by clear proof that he has changed his life. To those who sometime lapse and return and grieve over their sin, this Supper ought not to be denied. Yea, we ought to know that the Supper was especially instituted for just such, that they might be restored and strengthened; for in many things we all offend, and we bear one another's burdens while we also mutually burden ourselves; for I am speaking of those contemptuous persons who sin shamelessly and without fear, and yet boast great things about the Gospel.

THE CELEBRATION.

When the Mass is celebrated, it is proper that the communicants stand together at one place. To this end were the altar and the chancel devised. But as regards God or the increase of faith, standing here or there makes no difference; but it is important that they be seen and known both by those who commune, and by those who do not commune, in order that their lives may better be seen and tested and made known. For the communion of this Supper is a part of the confession by which publicly before God, angels and men, they confess that they are Christians. Hence care must be taken that they do not steal the Supper secretly, and then that it be not known whether they live well or ill. Although I do not wish to set up a law here, but only to show what, as honorable and proper, is to be voluntarily done by Christians who are free.

THE PREPARATION.

Of private confession before Communion, I hold as I have hitherto taught, that it is not necessary nor to be exacted, though it is useful and is not to be contemned, since not even the Supper did the Lord require as necessary, or establish by law, but left it free to every one, saying: "As often as ye do this."

Thus, in regard to the preparation for this Supper, we hold that preparation by fasting and prayers is a matter of liberty. But it behooves to be sober, earnest and diligent, even though you do not fast at all, or pray but little. But I do not mean that superstitious sobriety of the Papists, but that you do not eat and drink until you become stupid. But the best preparation (as I have said) is a soul agitated by sins, death, temptations, hungering and thirsting for consolation and strength. But these things are in the hands of the pastor for the instruction of the people.

COMMUNION UNDER BOTH FORMS.

It now remains to inquire whether both forms, as they say, should be administered to the people. I have this to say: Since the Gospel has been preached among us now for two full years, sufficient concession has been made to infirmity. Hence we must act in accordance with the word of Paul: "He that is ignorant, let him be ignorant." For it does not make any difference, if they receive neither species, who for so long a time have been ignorant of the Gospel, lest constant tolerance of infirmity nourish obstinacy and make objection to the Gospel. Hence in a simple manner, according to the institution of Christ, let each species be sought and administered. If any do not wish it thus, let them go, and let nothing be administered to them; for we have pointed out this form of the Mass to those to whom the Gospel has been preached, and by whom it is in part known. A provision of this kind cannot be made for those who have not yet heard nor been able to understand the Gospel.

Nor ought any one to delay until a Council can be called, in which it can be again sanctioned as lawful. We have the law of Christ, and we wish neither to await nor to hear Councils in these things which manifestly belong to the Gospel. Nay more, we say, even if a Council should enact and permit it, then least of all would we wish to have both forms, yea, then in contempt of the Council and of its statute. We would wish to have one of the two or neither. Do you wonder and inquire the reason? Hear. If you know that bread and wine have been instituted by Christ, and that both are to be received by all (as the Gospels and Paul most clearly testify, and as the adversaries themselves are compelled to confess), and you do not dare to believe and trust Him so as to take them, but dare to take them if men should decree it, do you not prefer men to Christ? Do you not exalt sinful men above God who is named and worshiped? Do you not put more confidence in the words of men than in the words of God? Yea, do you not indeed distrust the words of God, and trust the words of men only? What idolatry can be equal to such religious obedience to the Councils of men? Would you not better die a thousand times? Would you not better accept one or neither form, than to accept it with such sacrilegious obedience and apostasy from the faith? Let them cease to boast of their Councils. Let them first restore what has been sacrilegiously taken from the divine glory. Let them confess that it was under the dominion of Satan that they prohibited one species, that they elevated themselves above God, that they condemned his Word and for ages destroyed so many people. Let them repent of this tyranny of unspeakable cruelty and impiety, and let them acknowledge that we do right in teaching and taking one species even against their dogmas, and in not waiting for their Council. Let them give thanks that we have declined to follow their perdition and abomination.

When they shall have done this, we will freely and readily

honor and embrace their Council and statute. Meanwhile if they do not do this, but continue to demand that we wait for their authority, we give no heed, but go on teaching and doing things contrary to them, and that in such a way as we know displeases them most. For in this diabolical demand, what do they demand except that we exalt them above God, their words above the words of God, and that we put the portraits of their masks as idols in the place of God, while we wish the whole world to become obedient to God.

VERNACULAR HYMNS.

I also wish as many hymns as possible in the vernacular, which the people can sing during the Mass, either with the graduals or with the Sanctus and Agnus Dei; for who doubts that formerly those were sung by all the people which now only the choir sings or responds to the pastor when consecrating. Such hymns might be arranged by the pastor so that immediately after the Latin hymns, or on alternate days, Latin and vernacular hymns might be sung until the whole Mass becomes vernacular.

But we lack poets, or they are not yet known, who can compose for us godly, spiritual hymns (as Paul calls them), which are worthy to be used frequently in the Church of God. Meanwhile we may sing after the Communion the hymn: Gott sey gelobet und gebenediet der uns selber hat gespeiset, etc., omitting the clause: Und das heylige sacramento, an unserm letzten ende uns des geweynten priesters hende, which was added by some worshiper of St. Barbara, who all his life esteeming the sacrament of little value, in death hoped by this good work to enter into life without faith. For both the measure and nature of the music prove it to be superfluous. Besides this one, Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist, and also Ein kindlein so lobelich, may be serviceable. For you do not find many which savor of a grave spirit. This I say, that if there be any German poets, they may be stimulated and may prepare godly poems for us.

Enough has now been said for the present about the Mass and Communion. Use and experience will teach the rest, provided the Word of God be earnestly and faithfully preached in the Church, for we are not much influenced by the desire of some that all these things be proved by the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers, for already we have said that in these things liberty ought to reign, and that neither by laws nor commands is it right to take captive Christian consciences. Hence, even the Scriptures define none of these things, but allow liberty of spirit to abound in its own sense, and according to the circumstances of places, times and persons. In part the practices of the fathers are unknown, and those that are known are so varied, that nothing certain can be determined, because they used their own liberty. And even if they were most certain and simple, they could impose upon us neither law nor necessity of imitation.

MATINS AND VESPERS.

In the other days, which we call festivals, I see nothing which may not be tolerated, provided the Masses be abolished. For matins of three lessons, and the hours, also vespers and completorium *de tempore* (the festivals of the saints excepted), are nothing but the words of the Holy Scripture. And it is proper, yea necessary, to accustom children to read and hear Psalms and lessons of the Holy Scriptures. But if anything ought to be revised here, prolixity may be removed by the judgment of the pastor, so that three Psalms at matins and three at vespers, with one or two responsories, may be employed. These things are best arranged by the judgment of the pastor, whose duty it is to select the best responsories and antiphons, and to arrange them through the week, from Lord's day to Lord's day, so that neither by excessive repetition of the same, nor by excessive variety and amount of singing and lessons, disgust and weariness of spirit may be reproduced. But let the entire Psalter, distributed into parts, remain in use, and

let the entire Scripture, divided into lessons, remain in the ears of the Church. Here, again, that the singing may not be merely spoken with the tongue, or rather without sense, as the sound of a reed or a harp, I must do what I have done elsewhere. Therefore, daily lessons must be appointed, one for the morning in the New or Old Testament, another for the evening in the Old Testament, with explanation in the vernacular. That this custom is old is proved both by the thing itself and by the word homily in the matins, and by capitulum in the vespers and hours, viz., that Christians, whenever they came together, read something and interpreted it in the vernacular, as described by Paul in 1 Cor. xiv.

Afterwards, when the times became corrupt, and prophets and interpreters were wanting, the only voice left after the lessons and the capitula, was the Deo Gratias. Then in place of interpretation are many lessons, Psalms, hymns and other things in wearisome prolixity, although the hymns and the Te Deum Laudamus testify by the Deo Gratias after the interpretations and homilies that they praised God and gave thanks for the revealed truth of God's Word. Such also I would wish our vernacular singing to be.

So much have I to write to you, most excellent Nicholas, about the rites and ceremonies of our church at Wittenberg in part instituted already, and soon to be completed (Christ willing). A copy of this you and others can follow, if it pleases you, as we are prepared to accept from you or any others things better adapted.

Nor let it deter you or others that in our Wittenberg that sacrilegious Tophet still exists, the source of impious and accursed gain to the princes of Saxony—I mean the Church of All Saints. For by God's mercy we have a sufficient antidote through the abundant Word of God, as that pestilence languishing in its own corner is a pestilence only to itself. In a word, not more than three or four swine and gluttons are in that house of perdition, who devote themselves to

money. To all others, and to all the people, they are a great nausea and abomination. Yet it is not right to attack them by violence or command, as you know that Christians ought to fight only with the power of the sword of the Spirit. Thus I restrain the people every day, otherwise ere this that house of All Saints, yea, of all devils, would be known by another name in the world.

But I do not exercise against it the power of the Spirit which God has given us. I patiently bear the disgrace, if God may give them repentance, content meanwhile, that our house, which is really the house of all saints, may rule here, and stand as a tower of Lebanon against the house of all devils. Thus we torment Satan with the Word, although he affects to laugh. But Christ will grant that his expectation shall deceive him, and he shall go down in the sight of all.

Pray for me, thou holy man of God. Grace be with you and all yours. Amen. MDXXIII.

The *Formula Missae* is simply a revision of the ritual of the Mass. "Everything is omitted which characterizes the Mass as a priestly act of sacrifice, also the whole preparatory service of the priest, and the canon of the Mass, for the Mass must be the application and appropriation of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacrament, which belongs to believers only; hence, a service of the congregation and a Supper of the Lord."*

The following words of Alt furnish an excellent transition to Luther's third great liturgical writing:

"This *Formula Missae* clearly indicates how far the papal order of Mass may be used for a time in the evangelical divine service. This was demonstrated by the German Mass published three years later (1526), which is less dependent upon the papal ritual, is distinguished by greater simplicity, and brings forward the proper character of a divine service ordered according to evangelical Lutheran

*Kœstlin, p. 172.

principles; although, as Luther himself observes, even this, as likewise the earlier form of divine service, was instituted for simple-minded lay people, to train up the young, to call and incite people to faith, until Christians, who regard the Word with sincerity, find themselves at home in it, and hold fast to it. Should this come to pass, he hoped then for the introduction of a third service, which he did not present, but sufficiently explained by indications, and which Count Zinzendorf confessedly followed as a guide in setting forth a service for the Moravians. But in the liturgies of the churches of Lutherán countries, one or the other of Luther's two orders was taken as the basis—the *Formula Missae* where there was the greater attachment (*Anhänglichkeit*) to the papal ritual; the German Mass, where there was the greater independence. In this latter the order of the divine service was set forth by Luther in the following manner.”*

III.

GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE.

[At the close of the year 1521, Karlstadt undertook to introduce an evangelical Mass at Wittenberg, as it had been instituted by Christ, and to hold the service in the German language.† The effort failed, partly because the times were not yet ripe for a change, and partly because the methods were too radical. On the twenty-ninth of October, 1525, worship was conducted at Wittenberg in the vernacular,‡ and at the following Christmas the vernacular was introduced permanently into worship. It is altogether probable that the German Mass, which in the oldest editions bears date 1526, was written, in part at least, already in 1525,§ if not printed. It is Luther's most important liturgical writing, and gains its importance chiefly from the fact that still more clearly than the *Formula Missae*, it expounds the great

* *Der Christliche Cultus*, p. 243.

† *Corpus Ref.*, I., pp. 540, 554.

‡ *De Wette*, III., pp. 36, 78.

§ *De Wette*, III., p. 36. *Seckendorf*, II., p. 6, VIII., XX.

principles of evangelical worship, and, as the German writers particularly observe, brings the sermon to its proper place as the principal factor in evangelical divine worship.

The translation now given has been made from the Erlangen Edition (Vol. XXII., p. 226, *et seq.*), of Luther's Works. The Leipsic Edition was consulted.]

PREFACE.

Before all things I kindly beseech, even for God's sake, all those who desire to see or follow this our order in divine service, that they, by no means, make a necessary law out of it, nor entangle or bind any one's conscience therewith; but that in accordance with Christian freedom they use their pleasure, how, where and when, and how long the circumstances suit or demand it. For we also do not publish it with the intention to control any one therein, or to rule with laws, but because everywhere the German Mass and divine service are insisted upon, and great complaint and scandal exist concerning the manifold forms of the new Masses. Every one makes his own, some with good intention, some also from forwardness, that they also may bring something new into vogue, and shine among others, and not be bad workmen. Thus it everywhere turns out with Christian liberty, that few use it otherwise than to their own pleasure or advantage, and not to the glory of God and the good of his neighbor.

But although it rests upon every one's conscience how he uses such liberty (and no one is to hinder or forbid the same), yet it should be seen to, that his liberty is and shall be the servant of charity and of one's neighbor. Wherever it, therefore, happens that men take offense or go astray because of such various usage, we are truly bound to restrict liberty, and as far as it is possible, to labor and to forbear, in order that people may be made better and not be offended in us. Since, therefore, there is nothing in this external service involving our conscience before God, and yet it may

be made useful to our neighbor, we should in love, as Paul teaches, endeavor to be of one mind, and in the best way possible to be of like forms and ceremonies, just as all Christians have one baptism, one sacrament, and to no person is given of God a special one.

Yet I will not ask those who already have their good order of service, or who through God's grace can make a better one, to let it go and yield to us. For it is not my intention, that all Germany should accept precisely our Wittenberg order. It has indeed never been in the past that the endowed institutions, cloisters, and parishes were the same in all points; but it would be excellent if in every principality divine service were conducted in the same form, and the surrounding towns and villages directly shared with a city: whether those in other provinces also held the same, or added something special thereto, should be free and uncensured. For, in short, we institute such orders not for the sake of those who already are Christians. For they need none of these things, for which also one does not live; but they live for the sake of us, who are not Christians, that they may make us Christians, for these have their worship in spirit.

But we must have such order of service for the sake of those who are yet to become Christians or to become stronger, just as a Christian does not need baptism, the Word and sacraments as a Christian (for he already has all things), but as a sinner. But most of all it is done on account of the simple and the young, who are to be and must be exercised daily and educated in the Scripture and God's Word, that accustomed to Scripture they may become skillful, fluent and versed therein, in order to represent their faith, and in the course of time to instruct others and help to increase the kingdom of Christ: for the sake of such must we read, sing, preach, write and poetize, and if it would be helpful and advantageous thereto, I would let all the bells ring, and all the organs play, and everything sound that can

sound. For papal worship is so damnable on this account, because they have made a law, work and merit out of it, and therewith suppressed faith, and have not directed the same to the young and the simple to exercise them therewith in the Scripture and God's Word, but have clung to it themselves, and held it as useful and necessary to salvation. That is the devil; in which manner the ancients have neither ordered nor established it.

But there is a threefold distinction in worship and the Mass. First a Latin order, which we have before published and which is called the *Formula Missae*. This I do not herewith wish to have abrogated or changed; but as we have hitherto observed it among us, so it shall be free to use the same, where and when we please or occasion requires; for I in no way wish to banish the Latin language from divine service. For it concerns me to do everything for the young; and if I were able, and the Greek and the Hebrew language were as familiar to us as the Latin, and had as much fine music and hymnology as the Latin has: then should Mass be celebrated, sung and read one Sunday after another in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

I do not at all agree with those who give themselves to only one language and despise all others. For I should like to bring up such youth and people as could be of service to Christ also in foreign lands and speak with the people, so that it may not go with us as with the Waldenses in Bohemia, who have so confined their faith to their language, that they can not talk clearly and intelligently with any one, unless he learn their language beforehand. But not so did the Holy Ghost in the beginning. He did not wait till all the world came to Jerusalem and learned Hebrew, but gave all kinds of tongues to the preaching-office, so that the Apostles could speak wherever they came. I prefer to follow this example; and it is also proper to exercise the young in many languages: who knows how God may use them in the course of time? To this end also are schools established.

Secondly, there is the German Mass and divine service, of which we now treat, which are to be arranged on account of the uneducated laity. But these two forms * we must use in such a manner, that they be observed publicly in the Churches before all classes of people; among whom are many who have not yet believed or become Christians, and the majority stand there and gaze to see something new, just as if we were holding divine service among the Turks or heathen in an open public place or field. For there is yet no established and certain congregation, in which one could rule Christians according to the Gospel, but only a public incentive to faith and Christianity.

But the third form, which the right kind of evangelical service should have, must not be celebrated so publicly before all sorts of people; but those who mean to be Christians in earnest, and to confess the Gospel with hand and mouth, must register their names and assemble somewhere in a house alone for prayer, to read, baptize, receive the sacrament, and to perform other Christian works. In this service one could know, admonish, correct, expel, or excommunicate those who did not conduct themselves in a Christian manner, according to the rule of Christ in the 18th chapter of Matthew.

Here also a common alms might be laid upon Christians, to be willingly given and distributed among the poor, according to the example of St. Paul in the 9th Chapter of II. Corinthians. Here there would be no need of much elaborate singing. Here also baptism and the sacrament might be celebrated in a short good form, and everything be directed to the Word, and to prayer, and to love. Here one should have a good short catechism on the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. In brief, if we had the people and persons, who desired to be Christians in earnest, the order and form could soon be made.

But I can not yet, nor do I like to order or establish such

* That is, the *Formula Missae* and the German Mass.

a congregation or assembly. For I have not yet the people and persons for it; and I do not see many who insist upon it. But if it comes to pass that I must do it, and am urged thereto, so that I can not with good conscience avoid it, then I shall gladly do my part and help to the best of my ability. Meanwhile I will only insist upon the aforesaid two orders, and help publicly among the people to promote, along with preaching, such a divine service, in order to exercise the young, and to call and incite others to faith, till Christians who love the Word in earnest, are found and continue steadfast, so that the undertaking may not degenerate into a rabble, which would drive it out of my head. For we Germans are a wild, rough, boisterous people, with whom nothing is heedlessly to be begun, unless the highest necessity compel it.

Well, in God's name! For the first thing, a good, simple, plain, easy catechism is necessary in German worship. But catechism means the instruction with which the heathen, who wished to become Christians, were taught and directed what they should believe, do, abstain from and know in Christianity; hence the learners, who were received for such instruction and learned the faith before they were baptized, were called catechumens. This instruction or teaching I do not know how to arrange more simply or better than it has been arranged from the beginning of Christianity, and continued up to the present time; namely, the three parts: The Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. In these three parts is found simply and briefly almost all that a Christian needs to know. Because there is yet no special congregation, this instruction must be proceeded with in such a manner that it be preached in the pulpit at sundry times or daily, as necessity demands, and be repeated or read evenings and mornings at home to the children and servants, if they are to be made Christians. Not only in such a manner that they learn to repeat the words by heart, as has happened hitherto, but question them from article to

article, and let them answer what each means and how they understand it. If one can not ask every thing at once, then take one article to-day and another to-morrow. For where the parents or guardians of youth will not, either themselves or through others, take this trouble with them, there no catechetical instruction will ever be successful, unless it comes to pass that a special congregation, as has been said, be organized.

In this manner shall one question them: What do you pray? Answer: The Lord's Prayer. What does it mean when you say, "Our Father who art in heaven"? Answer: That God is not an earthly, but a heavenly Father, who will make us rich and blessed in heaven. What is the meaning of "Hallowed be thy name"? Answer: That we should honor and regard his name, that it may not be reviled. How is it then dishonored and reviled? Answer: When we, who should be his children, lead unholy lives, and teach and believe what is wrong. And so on, what is the meaning of God's kingdom, how it comes, what is God's will, what "daily bread" means.

Thus also in the Creed: How do you believe? Answer: I believe in God the Father. So throughout from article to article, according as there is time, one or two at a lesson. Thus, what is the meaning of believing in God the Father Almighty? Answer: It means when the heart trusts in him entirely, and confidently relies upon him for all grace, favor, help, and consolation, in time and in eternity. What is the meaning of believing in Jesus Christ, his Son? Answer: It means that the heart believes that we all should have been eternally lost if Christ had not died for us.

Thus one must ask also in the Ten Commandments, What does the First Commandment mean, the Second, the Third, and the others? Such questions may be taken from our little Prayer Book, where the three parts are briefly explained; or others may be made, until the heart contain the whole sum of Christian truth in two parts, as in two purses, which are

faith and love. The faith-purse has two pockets: in the one pocket is contained the article that we believe that we are altogether corrupt, sinful and condemned (Rom. v. 12, Psalm li. 7). In the other is contained the article that we all are redeemed through Jesus Christ from such corrupt, sinful and condemned condition (Rom. v. 18, John iii. 16). The love-purse also has two pockets: in the one is contained the article that we should serve and do good to every one, as Christ has done for us (Rom. xiii. 8). In the other is contained the article that we should gladly suffer and endure all kinds of evil (1 John iii. 16).

When now a child begins to comprehend such things, it should be accustomed to bring with it from preaching texts of Scripture, and to repeat them to its parents at table, as one was wont formerly to repeat Latin, and afterwards to put the texts into the purses and pockets, as one sticks pennies and groschen or florins into the pocket. As the faith purse is the gold purse, let this text go into the first pocket, Rom. v. 12: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin," and Psalm li. 5: "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." Those are two Rhenish florins in the pocket. In the other pocket should go the Hungarian florins, as this text, Rom. iv. 25: "Christ was delivered for our offenses and was raised again for our justification," likewise John i. 29: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." These would be two good Hungarian florins in the pocket.

Let the love-purse be the silver purse. Into the first pocket go the texts concerning doing good, as Gal. v. 13: "By love serve one another," and Matt. xxv. 40: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." These would be two silver groschen in the pocket. Into the other pocket should go this text, Matt. v. 11: "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you for my sake," and Heb. xii. 6: "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." These would be two Saxon coins in the pocket.

And let no man think himself too wise and despise such child's play. Christ, when he wished to draw men, was obliged to become man. If we are to draw children, then we must also become children with them. Would to God that such child's play were well carried on; in a short time we should see a great treasure of Christian people, and souls becoming rich in the Scripture and in the knowledge of God, till they would make more of these purses as *Locos Communes* and comprehend the entire Scriptures therein. Otherwise people daily attend preaching and go away again as they came. For they think it is of no value further than the time spent in hearing, no one thinks to learn or keep any thing thereof. Thus many a man hears preaching three, four years, and yet does not learn enough to explain one article of faith, as indeed I daily experience. There is enough written in books, but it is not sufficiently urged upon the heart.

OF DIVINE SERVICE.

Because in all worship the greatest and principal part is to preach and teach God's Word, we observe preaching and reading in the following manner: On the Lord's day or Sunday we allow the usual Epistle and Gospel lessons to remain, and have three sermons. Early at five or six some Psalms are sung as at matins; then one preaches on the Epistle for the day, mostly for the sake of servants, that they also may be cared for and hear God's Word, if they can not be at other sermons. Then an antiphon, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* or the *Benedictus*, with the Lord's Prayer, collects, and *Benedicamus Domino*.

At the Mass at eight or nine one preaches on the Gospel which the season prescribes throughout the year. In the afternoon at vespers, before the *Magnificat*, one preaches on the Old Testament in regular order. But that we retain the Gospel and Epistle lessons divided according to the time of year, as has been customary hitherto, this is the reason: we find nothing particular to blame in such an arrangement. It

is so done at Wittenberg at this time, since many are there who are to learn to preach where this distribution of the Epistles and Gospels still prevails and perhaps will remain. Because then we may be helpful to them therewith and serve them, without injury to ourselves, we allow it to go on. But we do not wish to blame those who take up consecutively the entire books of the Evangelists. In this arrangement we think the laity have preaching and doctrine enough; but whoever desires more will find enough on other days, namely :

On Monday and Tuesday early there is instruction in German on the Ten Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer, on baptism and the sacrament, so that these two days preserve and strengthen the catechism in its right understanding. But on Wednesday early a German lecture, to which the Gospel of Matthew is entirely devoted, so that the day shall be his own, because he is an excellent Evangelist to instruct the people, and describes the good Sermon of Christ delivered on the Mount, and insists much on the exercise of love and good works.

But the Evangelist John, who teaches faith with peculiar power, has also his own day, Saturday afternoon at vespers, so that we thus keep in use two Evangelists, devoting to each one day of every week. On Thursday and Friday early in the morning, there are the day's lessons on the epistles of the Apostles, and on other parts of the New Testament. With this arrangement we have lessons and sermons enough provided for to keep God's Word in full swing, without the lecture in the University for the learned.

To exercise the boys and pupils in the Bible, the following plan is used: Daily throughout the week, before the lesson of the day, they sing some Psalms in Latin, as was customary hitherto at matins. For, as already said, we wish to keep the youth to the Latin tongue in the Bible and to exercise them therein. After the Psalms two or three of the boys, one after the other, read a chapter in Latin out of the

New Testament, according to its length. Afterwards another boy reads the same chapter in German, to exercise them and to benefit any layman who may be present and listening. Then they proceed with an antiphon to the German lecture, of which we have spoken above. After the lecture the whole assembly sings a German song, then one silently says the Lord's Prayer; then the pastor or chaplain repeats a collect, and the services close with the *Benedicamus Domino*, as usual.

In like manner at vespers they sing some vesper Psalms, as they have been sung hitherto, also in Latin with an antiphon, then a hymn, if one is at hand. Then they read again, two or three, one after another, a chapter or half chapter, according to length, in Latin, from the Old Testament. Then a boy reads the same chapter in German, then the *Magnificat* in Latin, with an antiphon or hymn, then the Lord's Prayer silently, and the collects with the *Benedicamus*. This is the divine service daily through the week in towns where there are schools.

SUNDAY FOR THE LAITY.

We there allow priestly vestments, altar and lights still to remain, till they are no longer serviceable or it pleases us to change. But whoever wishes in this to proceed otherwise, we allow it to be done. But in the true Mass among real Christians the altar must not remain so, and the priest must always turn himself to the people, as without doubt Christ did at the Last Supper. Now, let that bide its time.

But in the beginning we sing a spiritual song or a German Psalm *in primo tono* in the following manner: "I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth. My soul shall make her boast in the Lord; the humble shall hear thereof and be glad," etc.*

Then the Kyrie, also in the same tone, three times, and not nine times, as follows:

* The rest of this 34th Psalm, set to notes in the original, is omitted in the translation.

Lord, have mercy.

Christ, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

Then the priest reads a collect in F of the natural scale, *in unisono*, as follows: "Almighty God, the protector of all who put their trust in thee, without whose grace we can do nothing that is pleasing unto thee, grant us richly of thy mercy, that through the influence of thy Spirit we may have right thoughts, and through thy power also accomplish them, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Then the Epistle *in octavo tono*, that in unison with the collect it may remain at the same pitch. Thus writes the holy Apostle Paul to the Corinthians: "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," etc.*

But he shall read the Epistle with his face turned to the people: but the collect with his face turned to the altar. After the Epistle a German hymn is sung, "*Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*," or some other, and that with the whole choir. Then he reads the Gospel *in quinto tono*, also with the face turned to the people. Thus writes St. John in his Gospel: "And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?" †

After the Gospel the entire congregation sings the Creed in German, "*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*."

Then comes the sermon on the Gospel of the Sunday or festival. And it seems to me if we had the German postils throughout the year it would be best to arrange to read the postils of the day in whole or in part to the people: not alone for the sake of the preachers, who can not do any better, but also to guard against enthusiasts and sects; as we see and trace in the homilies of the matins, that some such practice has existed. Otherwise, whenever spiritual understand-

* 1 Cor. iv. 1-5. In the original the entire passage, set to notes, is given by way of illustration.

† John i. 19-28. See preceding note.

ing and the Spirit himself does not speak through the preachers, (to whom I will not here set a limit, the Spirit teaches to speak better than all postils and homilies,) it will finally come to pass that each one will preach as he pleases, and instead of the Gospel and its exposition men will preach again about blue ducks. For that is also one of the reasons why we retain the Epistles and Gospels as they stand arranged in the postils, because there are few highly intelligent preachers who can mightily and usefully treat an entire Evangelist or other book.

After the sermon shall follow an open paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and admonition to those who wish to partake of the sacrament, in the following or some better form:

"Dear friends of Christ, inasmuch as we are assembled in the name of the Lord, to receive his holy Testament, I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God and pray with me the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us, and graciously promised to hear us.

"That God, our Father in heaven, would mercifully regard us his miserable children on earth, and grant us grace, that his holy name may be hallowed among us and in all the world through a pure, upright teaching of his Word, and through a life of fervent love. That he would graciously avert all false doctrine and evil living, whereby his worthy name is dishonored and blasphemed.

"That also his kingdom may come and be extended, and all sinners, those blinded and ensnared by the devil, be brought to a knowledge of the true faith in Jesus Christ his Son, and the number of Christians be greatly increased.

"That we also may be strengthened through his Spirit to do and suffer his will, and both in life and in death, in good and in evil, always to break, sacrifice and slay our will.

"That he would also give us our daily bread, preserve us from avarice and care for the stomach, and grant us to look to him for all needed good.

"That he would also forgive us our debts as we forgive

our debtors, that our hearts may have a joyous conscience before him, and never be afraid or terrified on account of any sin.

“That he would not lead us into temptation, but help us through his Spirit to subdue the flesh, to despise the world and its doings, and to overcome the devil with his wiles.

“And lastly that he would deliver us from all evil, both bodily and spiritual, temporal and eternal. Let all who earnestly desire this, say from the heart, Amen, believing without any doubt that it is so, and that it is heard in heaven, as Christ has promised us (Mark xi. 24): ‘Whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them.’ Amen.

“I further admonish you in Christ, that you receive this Testament of Christ with true faith, and especially that you firmly and heartily embrace the words, in which Christ presents us his body and blood for remission of sin. That you remember and render thanks for the infinite love which he has shown us, inasmuch as he has redeemed us through his blood from the wrath of God, sin, death, and hell, and that you then partake of his body and blood under this form of bread and wine, as a surety and pledge. Accordingly we will, in his name and according to his command through his own words, thus handle and use the Testament.”

But whether one wish to use such a paraphrase and admonition in the pulpit immediately after the sermon, or from the altar, I leave free to each one's choice. It seems that the ancients have done this from the pulpit; hence it is still customary to offer the general prayer from the pulpit or to pronounce the Lord's Prayer, but the admonition has become a public confession. For in this way the Lord's Prayer, with a short explanation, would remain among the people, and the Lord would be remembered at the Last Supper as he has commanded.

But I beseech that one arrange the same paraphrase and admonition *conceptis seu praescriptis verbis*, or in a particu-

lar manner, for the sake of the people, in order that one may not arrange in one way to-day and another in a different way to-morrow, and each one show his art, to the confusion of the people, so that they cannot learn or retain anything. For this is done to instruct and guide the people; therefore is it necessary that one here restrict liberty, and follow in such a paraphrase and admonition a single form, especially in the same church or congregation, if they will not, on account of this liberty, follow another.

Then follows the administration and consecration in the following manner:

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.

“After the same manner, also, he took the cup, when he had supped, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.”

But it seems to me that it would be according to the Last Supper if the sacrament were administered immediately after the consecration of the bread, before one blesses the cup, for thus speak both Luke and Paul: “After the same manner, also, he took the cup, when he had supped,” etc., and at the same time sing the German *Sanctus*, or the hymn *Gott sei gelobt*, or the hymn of John Huss, *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*. After this bless the cup, and administer also the same, and sing what remains of the above songs, or the German *Agnus Dei*. And that every thing proceed orderly and modestly, not men and women, but the women after the men; therefore also should they stand apart from each other in special places. But how one shall proceed with private confession I have elsewhere written enough, and one will find my views in the little Prayer Book.

The elevation of the host * we will not abolish but retain, for the reason that it well accords with the German *Sanctus*, and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him. For as the sacrament is bodily elevated, and yet the body and blood of Christ are not seen, thus is he remembered and exalted through the word of preaching, and with the reception of the sacrament is known and highly honored; and yet all is comprehended in faith, and it is not seen how Christ has given his body and blood for us, and still shows and offers the same for us before God, to obtain grace for us.†

Then follows the collect with the benediction: "We thank thee, Almighty God, that thou hast refreshed us through this salutary gift, and we beseech thee that of thy mercy thou wouldst strengthen us thereby in faith toward thee, and in fervent love toward one another, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

"The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

So much with reference to daily worship and the teaching of God's Word, especially with the view to train the young and incite the simple. For those who out of curiosity and the desire of new things like to stand and gaze, will soon

* He afterwards abolished this ceremony. In his *Kurzes Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl*, 1544, he says: "But this is the only cause that we have allowed the elevation of the host to fall into disuse, because most of the churches have given it up, and we desire to be like them, and not to have a peculiar usage in a matter which in itself considered might, with freedom and without danger to conscience, continue or cease. Especially so, since I was inclined thereto [its abolition] from the beginning, and certainly would have done so earlier if Karlstadt had not made such a horrible sin out of it. For where it can take place without sin and danger, or without offense, it is excellent for the Church, even in external matters, which are indeed free, to have the same ceremonies, as they have the same Spirit, Word, faith, sacrament, etc. For this is becoming, and pleases every one."

† Isaiah vi. 1-4, which is called the German *Sanctus*, is here given in the original, but omitted in the translation.

become tired and annoyed with all this : as they have hitherto done also in the Latin service, since one has daily sung and read in the churches, and yet the churches have remained empty and desolate, and as they are already doing in the German service. Therefore it is best that such service be arranged for the young and the simple that perchance attend. With the rest neither law, nor service, nor admonition, nor driving will help ; they are to be let alone, that they may freely and willingly omit in worship what they do reluctantly and unwillingly. Enforced service does not please God, and is vain and lost.

But with the festivals, as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Michaelmas, Purification of Mary, and the like, it must continue as hitherto in Latin, till we have enough German hymns for them. For this work is in its beginning, consequently not everything is ready that belongs to it ; but that one may know how it should and can proceed in one form, so that wisdom and moderation be found for diverse forms.

The fasts of Palm-day and Holy Week we allow to remain ; not that we compel any one to fast, but that the Passion and the Gospels, which are set for this time, should remain ; yet not in such a manner that one observe the black cloth over the altar, palm processions, covering pictures and other jugglery, or sing four Passions, or have to preach eight hours on good Friday on the Passion ; but Holy Week shall be like other weeks, except that one preach the Passion one hour a day through the week, or as many days as may be desired, and those who desire may receive the sacrament. For among Christians everything in worship is to be done for the sake of the Word and sacraments.

In short, this order and all others are to be used in such a manner that where an abuse is made of them, one may straightway abolish them, and make another ; just as king Hezekiah broke to pieces and destroyed the brazen serpent, which God himself had commanded to be made, because the children of Israel made an abuse of the same. For the

orders of service should serve for the increase of faith and love, and not to the injury of faith. When now they no longer do that, then are they already dead and useless, and are no longer valid; just as when a good coin is counterfeited, it is taken up and changed on account of the abuse; or as when new shoes become old and pinch, they are no longer worn, but thrown away and others bought. An order of service is an external thing; however good it may be, it can be abused. But then it is no longer an order, but a disorder. Therefore no order stands and is valid in itself, as the papal orders have hitherto been esteemed; but the life, worth, power and virtue of all orders is the right use; otherwise they are valueless and good for nothing.

The Spirit and Grace of God be with us all. Amen!

It will be seen readily that the "German Mass and Order of Divine Service" is simpler than the *Formula Missae*, and is much less dependent on the Mass Ritual. Undoubtedly it approximates more closely to Luther's ideal of a "godly form for saying Mass (as they call it) and for administering the communion." The subjoined judgment of Funk is just and discriminating: "The *Formula Missae* is a beginning of a new liturgy, and a norm of the Latin divine service; yet as regards the contents it is rather a one-sided Christian Mass-Canon in opposition to the idolatrous papistical Mass-Canon, in so far as its origin corresponds to that of the baptismal formula * already mentioned—a copy of an old, not of a free independent work in which the whole nature of the new beginning had been expressed. But such (new beginning) can and must the 'German Mass and Order of Divine Service' be regarded, which appeared a little later. In this many priestly hymns at the altar are omitted. A prayer and the Gospel open the service; a hymn of the congregation preserves a devotional frame of mind. As compared with the *Formula Missae*, the sermon, the

* The *Taußbüchlein* which Luther translated in 1523.

chief part of the Lutheran worship, becomes more prominent. To it all the time is devoted which in the papal Church is taken up by the service of the altar. The service of the sacrament is brief and simple.

“It would be quite an interesting question whether these liturgical works correspond to the ideas which the author had in regard to Christian worship. We will not express our opinion, since the comparison of both may be made by the attentive reader. But we hope that their brevity as in harmony with Christianity, and their pious dignity will have at all times the approbation of the true scholars and followers of their author. The true always appears in the garments of the simple, and in so far as the former is eternal, in so far does the latter approach the eternal; yea, the more it receives from it. The liturgy of Luther, like all his directions about external things, is presented with inimitable modesty, because he does not mean to make laws, but only to give good counsel. But without swearing by the words of the master because of too great attachment, the thought will press itself upon every one: Let him who wishes to do differently see that things be done in a more Christian, pious and effective manner.”*

* Geist und Form, pp. 179, 180.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRINCIPLES OF EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN WORSHIP.

IN the Roman Catholic Church, as already shown, worship has its centre in the sacrifice of the Mass, which is a real unbloody sacrifice of Christ for the sins of men.

In the chief divine service the preaching of the Word is reduced to a minimum. The value of worship consists essentially in the completion of the divinely appointed service, which is marked by rigid uniformity of ceremonies. The worship is also priestly in character, and can just as well be performed in the absence of the congregation as in its presence. Directly opposed to this is the evangelical conception of worship. Christ once crucified is the sole mediator between God and men, is the one only exclusive meritorious cause of salvation. This truth is the objective factor in divine worship. Faith which appropriates this truth is the one sole subjective condition of acceptable worship. But as faith is a personal act, and as it depends upon the individual's heart-relations to God, there is no need of and no place for a mediating priesthood. The individual's worship, and the blessing which accrues to the individual from worship, depends upon his faith and his intelligent appropriation of the objective in worship. That is, the truth set forth in Word and sacrament must be met by the faith of the individual; and in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that really is divine worship which is a service of the congregation, a realizing and witnessing of the faith which pulsates in the heart of individuals—an act of the general priesthood of believers. Over against the *performance*, the *opus operatum* of Roman Catholic worship, stands *faith* in evangelical worship. True worship must proceed from faith, and must be

the expression of faith in the objective truth. Hence, as Kœstlin says: "The objective or material truth of worship does not consist in rigid conformity to the norm of a divine appointment, but in the agreement of all the acts with the content and spirit of the Gospel; not in the formal liturgical correctness, but in the evangelical purity and truthfulness of the content. Whatever forms it uses, it dare not employ anything which does not correspond to, or which opposes the truth of the Gospel; and it places in the foreground as constitutive factors those acts which in the strictest sense are the expression of the declaration of salvation and the sealing of the same, viz., the Word and the sacrament.

"These two fundamental principles, that of subjective truth, according to which worship is constituted, not so much by an express divine appointment, as much rather by the activity of the believing subject, and that of objective truth, according to which worship should be nothing else than a genuine expression and bearer of the evangelical declaration of salvation—these principles are common to all evangelical churches.

"But a difference arises through a diverse conceiving of the principle of objective truth." *

It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the *difference* of which Kœstlin makes mention, but to present a full and comprehensive statement of the principles of evangelical Lutheran worship, chiefly as they found expression in the authorized orders of worship of the sixteenth century, that great period which must be studied in its original documents by all who would gain a safe and profitable knowledge of the principles, doctrines and practices of the Evangelical Church.

I. In opposition to the Roman Catholic conception that the Mass is the chief thing and the centre of divine worship, the Lutheran Church introduced preaching and teaching of the divine Word as the chief thing and centre. Luther expressly declares that "Where God's word is not preached it were better neither to sing, nor to read, nor to assemble."

* Geschichte, p. 143.

In opposition to the Roman Catholic conception that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, the Lutheran Church maintained that both the divine Word and the sacraments are means of grace, vehicles of grace, bearers of grace, through and by which God comes to the worshipping congregation and applies the redemption secured by Christ on the cross, according to the promise contained in Matthew xviii. 20: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," and according to the promise found in Exodus xx. 24: "In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." This is the *objective* principle of divine worship and its *chief* and most essential part, viz., the presence of the Lord with the congregation, and his activity through Word and sacrament. This principle is embodied in and is brought into prominence by the Lutheran orders of worship, "which," as Funk says, "have for their purpose and essential thing *that the pure doctrine of the divine Word shall be maintained as it is founded on the Holy Prophetical and Apostolic writings,*" p. 12.

In the preface to the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order it is declared: "The high divine majesty, God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are present in the congregation of the Church, receive the praise and prayer of the Church, and treat with the Church by means of the divine Word and sacrament, as Christ says: 'Where two or three are met together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.'"

And again: "These two, namely, preaching and the sacraments, are the necessary parts of the Christian Church through which faith in Jesus Christ our Saviour is implanted by God through the Holy Ghost, and is strengthened; yea, through which true godliness and salvation are imparted and bestowed."

Thus it becomes a fundamental principle that ordinarily "the Holy Ghost does not give faith or his gifts without the preaching of the gospel of Christ, but through and with

this oral Word he works and produces faith where and in whom he will." (Luther). (See also Augsburg Confession, Art. V.) But the "Gospel of Christ" is a comprehensive designation for all the means of grace: "When we speak of the Gospel, we understand thereby also baptism, the binding and loosing of the keys, the Lord's Supper, for these are none other than the powerful, living, active, visible, sensible preaching of the Gospel, instituted by Christ, the Lord, for our especial comfort and edification, that we might not only believe that what is preached about him is true, but that it is also ours, and that we have it; for whosoever is baptized, to him it is signified both by words and acts that he personally has been united to Christ, in whom he has forgiveness of sins and eternal life." *

In close connection with this comprehensive definition of the Gospel, is the doctrine of the real *efficiency* of the Gospel in creating an assembly of believers, which in its faith and prayer and thanksgiving is the true subject of divine worship. In explaining Genesis xxviii. 16, Luther wrote: "The Church and congregation of God are wherever the Word of God is taught and heard, be it in Turkey, or in the Papacy, or even in Hell. For it is God's Word that creates the Church. That is lord over all places. In whatsoever place it is heard, where baptism, the sacrament of the altar and absolution are administered, there thou shalt be certain and conclude: Here surely is the house of God; here heaven stands open. But as the Word of God is not bound to any place, so the Church of God is not bound to any place. It shall not be said, the pope is at Rome, therefore the Church is there. But where God speaks, there is the Church, there the kingdom of heaven is open." † Or as the same doctrine is expressed in the Revised Mecklenburg Liturgy (fol. 3): "Wherever the pure Christian doctrine is preached, there surely is the Church of God; for God works effectively

* Brandenburg-Nuremberg, fol. 18.

† Erlangen, Latin, 7, p. 180.

through his Gospel, and in this assembly there are always some elect persons who will be saved."

This then, to sum up, is the *objective* and *primary* principle of Lutheran worship: The Lord assembles the Church by means of the Gospel; he offers grace to the congregation through the Gospel; he actually imparts grace to each member of the congregation who is united to Christ by a living faith.

But this strong emphasizing of the Gospel leads naturally to the setting up of a clear distinction between the institutions of God and the appointments of men. In the Courland Liturgy (1570) we read what in similar words or in substance may be found in all the orders of worship: "All Christians must be carefully taught at all times of the great difference there is between the ceremonies arranged by men for use in the Church, and the alone-saving Word of God and the holy sacraments; for these two, namely, the Word of God and the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, are the sole necessary means for our salvation, which without sin against conscience, and without unavoidable offence against the Church of God, neither can, nor should, nor may be perverted, changed, enlarged or diminished by angels or men. Wherefore Paul says distinctly, Gal. i., 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you another Gospel, let him be accursed.' And in 1 Cor. xi., 'I have received of the Lord that which also I deliver unto you.' He also mentions the institution of the Supper. Then he speaks distinctly of ceremonies, saying, 'And the rest will I set in order when I come.' " Funk sums up the consentient teaching of the old liturgies in these words: "In all holy acts a definite and unalterable distinction must be made between what has been instituted and enjoined in the Holy Scripture with express words, and what has been added by men.

"This distinction we must hold without wavering, as Paul also observed it, when he (1 Cor.) repeats expressly what he had received of the Lord, and distinguishes it from what he

would set in order when he came. For the Christian Church was not founded by men, but by God himself, and fully provided by him with the means for salvation, so that whoever changes anything by enlarging or diminishing opposes God in his work and errs, and would be lost (Gal. i.). Since the Holy Scripture, given by God himself, is the rule and norm of all Christian affairs, what it commands must be held and used in accordance with its institution and ordering. With regard to the institutions and arrangements introduced by men in the Church the case is altogether different, as the Lord himself, Matthew xv., and his Apostles, Col. ii., teach in regard to the institutions of men. These are not divine appointments. The observance of them does not produce the grace of God, forgiveness of sins, peace of soul and eternal life. Much rather is their necessity entirely abolished by reason of the death of Christ. Hence when in the Church of Christ human institutions have been made for the congregational worship of God, it is done only in order that in the congregations, in the performance of holy acts, everything may be done decently and orderly, and for the good of the congregation, and that the effect of the divine means of grace may not be hindered through disorder." *

II. Over against this objective principle of the Word and sacraments as real means of grace, stands the subjective principle, viz., the faith, devotion and self-surrender of the congregation, which express themselves by prayer, praise and thanksgiving in response to the Gospel. Luther says: "We come together at a time agreed upon, preach and hear God's Word, and bear before God our own and others' general and particular needs, and thus raise to heaven a strong, effective prayer with thanksgiving and praise for God's favor. This we know is true worship and well-pleasing to God."

This is the natural correlate of the objective principle. In proportion as the Lutheran Church laid strong emphasis on

* Kirchenordnung, pp. 76, 77.

the use and character of the means of grace, so did she lay strong emphasis also on faith as the subjective principle of worship, or the service of prayer and praise which the congregation is to render for the grace bestowed. If this grace be none other than the full and complete salvation of the soul, aside from all human work or merit, then the response of the Christian feelings, sentiments and life must be full and strong, as great blessings call for great praise, and the praise must be rendered by the recipients of the blessing; that is, worship must be a service of the congregation in the persons of its individual members.

Here again Lutheran worship is brought into sharp contrast with Roman Catholic worship. The latter is almost exclusively a chanting of the clergy. The former is the Psalmody of the people. In Roman Catholic worship the individual is ignored. The presence of the congregation even is not necessary to the performance of the highest act of divine service. And where the congregation is present, almost the entire worship is performed by the clergy. Little or no provision is made in the chief service for the prayer, praise and thanksgiving of the people. In the subjective part of Lutheran worship all is different. The chief service opens with a hymn of invocation of the Holy Ghost, or with a Psalm or other spiritual song. The Creed is sung by the people. The Wittenberg liturgy (1559) says (fol. 93): "At the conclusion of the sermon the people shall be admonished to prayer and thanksgiving." And again (fol. 97): "After the sermon the litany shall be sung, or some Psalms, or other German spiritual songs." Similar injunctions are found in almost all the old orders of worship. The people are exhorted to take part in the worship. In order to make provision for this part of worship, Luther called upon his poetical and musical friends to compose hymns and suitable music. But when he found them slow to respond, being himself a poet and musician, he translated Psalms, and wrote hymns, and adapted them to music to be sung by

the congregation. Thus already in 1524 appeared in Wittenberg, "Etlich Christlich Lieder Lob-gesang und Psalm," containing eight hymns, four by Luther, three by Paul Speratus, and one by an unknown writer. It was a small beginning of a rich and powerful development which quickly spread over all Germany and diffused a taste for music throughout the nation. "From Luther's time the people sang. The Bible inspired their songs. Poetry received a new impulse. In celebrating the praises of God, the people could not confine themselves to mere translation of ancient anthems. The souls of Luther and of several of his contemporaries, elevated by their faith to thoughts the most sublime, excited to enthusiasm by the struggles and dangers by which the Church at its birth was unceasingly threatened, inspired by the poetic genius of the Old Testament and by the faith of the New, ere long gave vent to their feelings in hymns, in which all that is most heavenly in poetry and music was combined and blended." *

It was in the interest of this subjective feature of worship and for its development that the Lutheran Church came to have a body of songs, hymns, chorals, anthems, chants, tunes and melodies, which in variety, richness, power and number, surpass those of all other Protestant Churches combined. They are the logical sequence of the fullness of her conception of the Gospel as the expression of the free unlimited love of the heavenly Father.

But though the Lutheran Church lays great stress on this subjective principle of worship, yet she does not offer it as a meritorious service, but as a spiritual sacrifice, and as the first fruit of the faith and love which have been begotten by the Gospel. Says Kliefoth: "Without exception all the Lutheran liturgies guard themselves at this point, as does the Lauenberg of 1585: 'The papal error shall not be attached to such human ceremonies, as if it were in itself a special important worship of God if a person should observe these

* D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.

ceremonies appointed by men; or as if in and of themselves they should be works of perfection, which would have great consideration with God, and would be of much more value than the works which God himself has commanded in his law; or that a person should reckon that by such human ceremonies he could secure the peace of God, forgiveness of sins and salvation, and that not only for himself, but could also secure something over and above his own need, and turn it over to others for their salvation, or could even sell it for money.' "

III. The public assembly of the Church must be an orderly and decent gathering, to the end that it may properly hear the Word and offer praise, prayer and adoration.

Whatever, in time, place and forms of service, will contribute to bring the Word and sacraments to the centre, and to give them their proper objective position and true relation, may and ought to be used.

I. Worship should be held at a time agreed upon by pastor and people. This is implied in the very idea that worship is an act of the congregation, and not a service of the priest.

The preference of the individual must be accommodated to the choice of the community. This principle applies not only to the hours for worship on the Lord's day, which is the chief day for worship, but also to such other times and seasons as may be deemed appropriate for bringing the chief events of salvation before the congregation in historical order, in which we find a justification of the practice of observing the leading festivals of the Church, such as Christmas, Passion Week, the Resurrection, Whitsunday and others contained in the Scripture, if agreed upon by pastor and people, but always in subordination to the Lord's day and its services. Or the entire order of the ecclesiastical year may be observed if the congregation with its pastor shall so elect.

Funk names "the following festival days as those which

are found in all the Church orders mentioned [he has just given a list of typical liturgies] and which on account of this universality have the prerogative of being special for our Church: Christmas three days because the Son of God became true man. Preachers may introduce the histories of Sts. Stephen and John as belonging to this festival, but they shall preach only of the birth of the Saviour.

“The day of circumcision, when Christ became obedient for us, and of his own accord, submitted to the law. Since this day falls on New Year, there can also be preaching then. The day of Epiphany (Holy three Kings) because he claimed for his kingdom not only the Jews, but also the heathen, in order that he might be a Saviour of the whole world, as Simeon sang of him.

“Good Friday, because through his bitter sufferings and death he obtained for us forgiveness of sins, life and salvation;

“Easter, three days in succession, on account of his resurrection by divine power;

“Ascension day, because the Lord according to his human nature ascended above all heavens and creatures, a mighty Lord over all that can be named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, Eph. i.

“Whitsuntide three days, because he sent the Holy Ghost to establish the office of preaching through which he still daily assembles his Church.

“On these festivals the order of worship shall be the same as that on the usual Sundays, except that the hymns, prayers, Scripture readings and sermons, shall have reference to the festival of that time.

“In addition it has seemed advisable and good to celebrate the days:

“Of John the Baptist, Visitation of Mary (when she visited her cousin Elizabeth) and

“Michael, for we have beautiful hymns for these in which is comprehended the summary of Christian doctrine.” *

* Kirchenordnung, pp. 91-93.

Some Church orders also appoint Maundy-Thursday, and some Trinity Sunday. But in the matter of Church festivals, as in very many other things, the old orders differ.

2. The place of worship also falls under the view-point of order. Luther declared: "It is not wrong to build and found churches; but it is wrong to engage in it and forget faith and love in the matter, and to do it with the intent that it is a good work by which to deserve well before God. From this follow abuses without limit, for every dark corner will be built full of churches without any thought of why churches should be built. For there is no reason for building churches, except that Christians shall assemble, pray, hear preaching and receive the sacrament. If this reason be removed, the churches should be torn down, just as we tear down other buildings when they are no longer useful. But now all over the world everybody wants to build a chapel, or altar, or found a Mass, with no purpose except that they imagine they can be saved thereby, or can purchase heaven.

"Is it not a wretched, deplorable error and perversion to teach the poor people to build on works, to the great prejudice of their Christian faith? It were better that all churches and foundations should be torn down and burned to ashes—yea, it were a less sin if anyone should wantonly destroy them—than that a single soul should be deceived and destroyed by such error. For God has commanded nothing about churches, but only about souls, which are his own proper churches, as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17: 'Ye are God's temples, or churches. If any man defile the temple of God, him will God destroy.' " *

Here Luther speaks both of the use and abuse of places of worship. The abuse was the result of superstition. The Roman Catholic doctrine of worship, the over-valuation of the performance, the invocation of saints, had fostered the notion that the worship of God at the shrines of saints, and

* Erlangen Edition, VII., p. 222.

at other consecrated places, was the only proper and acceptable worship. This is the abuse of places of worship. But the abuse cannot take away the lawful use. When by the preaching and teaching of the divine Word, Luther had driven out the superstition, he sharply rebuked the people for not building churches. In a sermon of the year 1530, after severely chiding the cupidity and ingratitude of the people, the want of the fear of God and love for the Saviour, he says: "If it shall go thus in German lands, I am sorry that I was born a German, or that I have spoken or written in German; and if I could reconcile it to my conscience I would help to bring back the pope and all his abominations upon us, with oppressions, injuries and corruptions worse than before. Formerly when they served the devil and did despite to the blood of Christ, all the purses stood open, and there was no end to giving to churches, schools and all abominations. Then they would drive and force the children to cloisters, monasteries, churches, schools, without regard to cost—all of which was lost. Now they should found proper schools and churches; yea, not found them, but keep them in repair (for God has founded them and has given enough to maintain them). And we know that it is God's Word, and that he has commanded to build proper churches and to honor the blood and death of Christ. Now all the purses are bound shut with brass chains." *

At the time of the Reformation, the splendid temples and cathedrals built for Roman Catholic worship were used without reconstruction or reconsecration for Protestant worship, on the principle that the house, however magnificent or richly endowed with relics of saints, does not sanctify the Word preached, but the Word preached sanctifies the place in which it is preached. Pictures and images were retained, not for veneration, but for decoration and ornament. The main altar was retained, but the secondary altars were abolished. Luther declared: "All altars which have been

* Erlangen Edition, XVII., pp. 419, 420.

erected and used for the worship of saints and for the reading of the Mass, should be abolished, and only one for the act of the sacrament, for the saying of prayers, and for other holy acts, should remain. For as there is one body, of which we are members, so shall there be only one table at which we receive the body and blood. Therefore the Christians of early times had only one altar. But should the church be so large that the congregation cannot understand the prayers and the reading of the usual service from the altar, a desk or a table may be placed below the altar for that purpose; but no altar, so that a multitude of altars may not exist. But this desk or table shall be used for nothing in worship except the morning prayers."

And so little importance did he attach to *one altar* even, that he said finally: "In the proper Mass, where there are only Christians, the altar must not remain, and the priest must turn to the people, as without doubt Christ did in the Supper. But that abides its time."

Nevertheless the Lutheran Church has very generally constructed her houses of worship with altars, at which to administer the sacraments and to offer her devotions. She also continues to adorn them with statuary and painting as aids to worship. Her conception is that the æsthetic sense and the religious affections are not antagonistic, but conspiring, and that God's house should be made as beautiful and attractive as possible.

3. Forms of worship and books of devotion are ministers of good order. Luther says: "True Christians do not stand in need of an order of worship (*i. e.*, of external liturgical contrivances); they have an order of worship in the spirit." According to Kœstlin, his idea is that in the measure in which the congregation grows outwardly to full maturity, worship must spiritualize itself, and the external form become superfluous. "But this is not to be thought of on earth, for Christians on earth stand in need of baptism, the Word, the sacrament, not as Christians, but as sinners," for

even the relatively most perfect Christians are sinners, and so still need the means of grace and the discipline of forms and methods of worship.

As Kœstlin further remarks, Luther distinguishes between two kinds of worship: "On the one hand, the contrivances and forms relating to divine worship—the objective churchly act, the correct performance of which is considered by the Catholic Church the essence of the thing. On the other hand, the ethico-religious heart-attitude towards God, the proving of faith over against the Lord, which first establishes the possibility of salvation, and which first gives value to divine worship and makes both the individual and the worship well pleasing to God." *

This, according to Luther, is the true idea of worship: Simplicity and sincerity as among true believers. He says: "Such a divine service ought not to occur so publicly in a place among all sorts of people; but those who earnestly desire to be Christians and to confess God with mouth and hand, would have to record their names and assemble themselves separately in a house. Here there would not be needed much singing and ceremonies, only Word and sacrament and prayer. Here, also, might a common alms be imposed on Christians, which they might willingly give, and divide among the poor according to the example of Paul. 2 Cor. ix. 12." †

This more truly Christian service Luther could not realize, because the people were not prepared for it. Hence the need of forms of worship and books of worship for disciplinary ends—an idea expressed in the German Mass, where he declares that he will abide by his two services, and will promote the divine service "in order to instruct the young and to call and incite others to faith."

This disciplinary idea, together with the desire to promote good order in worship, which also is disciplinary, was kept in prominent view by Luther's followers in constructing the

* Geschichte, p. 154.

† German Mass.

books of devotion. The Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) says in the preface: "It is not the intention of this Church Order that it is to be a work, by the orderly performance of which a person may repent of sin and merit the grace of God, for Christ alone has satisfied for the sins of men, and has merited and acquired the grace of God for us; but that it may furnish an orderly discipline for the common assembly of the Church, and an incentive and reason for the more diligent attendance at the preaching of God's Word, and a more devout reception of the sacraments."

Similar statements may be found, in the prefaces or elsewhere, in nearly all the old books of service. One more quotation must suffice, taken from the Pomeranian: "In the Old Testament, in the law of Moses, God appointed certain seasons and ceremonies to be observed by the people in their congregations, and enjoined upon all men alike to sanctify the Sabbath and to appear in the assembly of the saints. Therefore Christians should assemble with ceremonies and songs in the churches. For although the Christian Church is not built upon a uniform order of ceremonies, but upon the foundation of the prophets and Apostles, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ, and upon this Holy Word, yet since God is not a God of confusion but a God of peace, and wills that in the congregation all things should be done decently and in unity (1 Cor. xxiv.), so without doubt it is a service specially well-pleasing to his eternal divine Majesty, that a similar, spiritual, useful order in ceremonies should, so far as possible, be learned and observed, which besides various other advantages which it brings, serves for the preservation of unity in doctrine and the avoidance of offences in the case of the common people, who look upon the outward ceremonies and by these judge of doctrine, the sacraments and the entire ministerial office."

IV. The fourth principle in Lutheran worship is the *adiaphorous* character of all ceremonies. No Lutheran liturgy has ever been issued as an *imposed law*, but that it might be

received as a *voluntary agreement* to be used in whole or in part, or to be discontinued and changed as the circumstances and conditions of the congregations require. The prefaces and mandates which introduce the old orders of worship place it absolutely beyond question that all such books were regarded as external rites, which were fully within the power of the pastors and congregations. A few representative quotations from typical liturgies must stand as proof of this declaration. The Courland Liturgy, from which we have quoted already, and which bears throughout the type of the Lutheran liturgies, says: "Ceremonies are *externi ritus*, external works set forth in the Christian Church by pious, godly Christians, according to the need or circumstances of persons and places by virtue of our Christian freedom, to be esteemed in concord and to be received in a Christian manner voluntarily and by common consent, in order that everything may proceed in the Christian congregation in an orderly manner and for edification; and therefore, as *adiaphora*, they are wholly unnecessary to salvation, and can and may sometimes in *casu necessitatis et dilectionis*, in special cases of pressing need and Christian love, be omitted; or where they do not serve to the edification of God's Church, and, as many a time occurs, prove an idolatrous abuse if not changed, they are to be wholly abolished." * The first Wittenberg (1533) has as its last words in regard to service the following: "The meaning of all this with respect to the Mass shall be that such communion, singing, reading and preaching, may be curtailed and abridged by the pastor according to the circumstances of the time and the condition of the people. For the ceremonies are not necessary laws, but the pastor has the power to act in such matters as may serve for the best."

Equally emphatic is the Saxon Order of 1580, which, Richter declares, "is one of the most important liturgies of the second half of the sixteenth century:" "The pastors

* Quoted from Kliefoth's *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*.

and ministers shall diligently instruct their parishioners and hearers in sermons as often as opportunity allows, that such external ordinances and ceremonies are not in themselves divine worship, nor a part of it, but that they have been appointed in order that the worship of God, which it is not in the power of man to change, may be held at a proper time and place and without troublesome disorder. Hence they shall in no way be annoyed when they see unlike ceremonies and usages in external things in the churches, but much rather are they to bear in mind their Christian liberty in such things, and in order to the preservation of the same, profitably use dissimilarity of ceremonies, in order that we may not again be bound in our consciences through the ordinances of men, as if they were the commands of God, or in themselves divine worship, or necessary thereto.” *

The Lutheran Church has taught and still teaches that ecclesiastical rites instituted by man should be observed in so far as they promote peace and good order in the Church; and again, that the consciences of men are not to be burdened, as though such rites are in any sense essential to salvation. The former of these principles she has illustrated by furnishing liturgies for those who wished them, and the latter by leaving the use of these liturgies entirely free, and by changing them as times and circumstances require; and so fully were these principles carried out, that during the sixteenth century well nigh two hundred † distinct liturgies appeared in Germany, and the Lutherans of Northern Germany never reproached the Lutherans of Southern Germany about the more independent character of their ceremonies of worship. Nor did those of Southern Germany find fault with the fuller services of their brethren of the north. And so great indeed was the entire Protestant indifference to uniformity of ceremonies of worship, that the late learned

* Kirchenordnungen, II., p. 440.

† Augusti estimates 132 up to the year 1550. Richter gives 174 between the years 1523-1598. But a few of these are Reformed. The authors have several, and know of others, not mentioned by Richter.

Dr. Krauth was moved to say: "At the time of the hottest controversy between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, when the differences were magnified on both sides to the last degree, it was never pretended by either party that there was any diversity in regard to the principles of public worship involved in the discussion. The Reformed and the Lutheran Churches were a unit as to every *principle* of worship which now divides this German Reformed Church. The history of the churches demonstrates that it was conceded on both sides that if there were doctrinal harmony, the questions of public worship would settle themselves. Both communions hold that the churches of each country have the right, *pro re nata*, to change and order all matters of worship not fixed by God's Word, as her best interests may, in each case, demand." *

It is just this principle of indifference to the particular forms of public worship, provided the forms used be scriptural, that constitutes one of the chief glories of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and places in her hand an important condition of true ecclesiastical unity. It is *historically* Lutheran to conduct worship according to the forms of a moderately full or a very simple liturgy; and it is in no sense contrary to any principle of the Lutheran Church to conduct worship without the aid or guidance of any written or printed form.

The entire subject of Lutheran worship is comprehensively and most justly and accurately summed up in the following paragraphs of Kœstlin: "In regard to the constitution of the divine service of the empirical Church, the determining view-point is that the divine service should become organ, frame-work, and in part the realization of the worship of God in spirit and in truth. To this end it is required that those factors which constitute the true divine service be brought into full function—or the first condition is that

"1. The word and sacrament through which as means the

* Mercersburg Review, 1869.

Holy Ghost works faith, should be brought into prominence, and be made the central point of the act of worship. 'To sum up,' says Luther, 'in divine worship everything is done that the Word may have free course and not again become a sound and noise as formerly it was.' 'The one thing needful is that Mary, Luke x. 39, shall sit at the feet of Jesus and hear his Word daily.'

"From this comes the necessary correlate, that

"2. In the divine service, place and form be given for the testifying of the faith of the congregation, for only where this is found, can it be said of the divine service that this form corresponds to the demand of the truth, and does not promote mechanism, but stirs up faith, and helps to express the same (which is the limiting view-point for the language of worship in prayer, song and choral).

"To this is added yet as a third,

"3. Principle, *order* and *decorum*, arising from the conception of the act as that of the community—the *congressus publici* must, as Melancthon says, be *honesti*, or according to Luther, an orderly, decent public assembly.

"To these fundamental principles, that of objective truth according to which Word and sacrament form the basis and central point: that of subjective truth, according to which the act of the congregation shall be or become a living attestation of faith (not a mechanical utterance, 'sound' 'noise'): and that (formal principle) of order, without which a common act cannot be thought of—to these all the other elements of a common edification must be subordinated. All these, the time of worship, the forms of worship, the books of worship, etc., fall under the view-point of adiaphora. They have their justification and value not in themselves, but in the measure in which they promote the true divine service, the edification out of Word and sacrament, and the worship in spirit founded thereon. They are injurious and objectionable in proportion as they hinder this end.

“ So teaches also the Augsburg Confession, XV.: ‘ They teach that those rites are to be observed which can be observed without sin, and which promote tranquillity and good order in the Church, as certain holidays, festivals and the like. In regard to these things, however, men are exhorted that consciences are not to be burdened, as if *such* worship were necessary to salvation.’—Compare Augsburg Confession XXVIII.: ‘ What opinion must be held about the Lord’s day and similar rites in the Churches.’

“ The form of Concord, Part II., Chap. x., distinguishes *sharply* the ‘ worship of God ’ from human traditions, that is, the transitory form and shape of the divine worship.

I.

“ Therefore, we reject and condemn as errors: ‘ When human traditions are regarded *per se* as the worship of God or as any part of it (since they are only the earthly—human form of the Worship of God).’

II.

“ ‘ When human traditions are obtruded by force, as though they were necessary to be observed by the Church of God.’

“ ‘ The Church is free in all places and times, by the very nature of the case, and out of regard to the welfare of the Church, to receive one or more adiaphora and to use them according to the nature of Christian liberty.’

“ Thus Luther, acting according to these fundamental principles, was not destructive and radical, but conservative, reverent and moderate. It was not a question of liturgical innovation, but a question of purification of what was at hand, that it might be made serviceable in the worship of God in the true divine service.” *

* Geschichte, pp. 162, 163.

CHAPTER IX.

FORMS OF LUTHERAN WORSHIP.*

THE Lutheran Confessors declared in the most emphatic way: "For the true unity of the Christian Church it is not necessary that uniform ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere observed." † This principle they themselves applied in the broadest and freest manner. Luther declared in the Formula Missae and in the German Mass, that he did not wish to bind any particular form of service on his fellow-Christians, but that every one should adapt the form of worship to his own circumstances. The preaching of the pure Word was that which he sought above everything; for he felt confident that if the Word could only have free course, the minor matters of form would soon adjust themselves. Yet so great was the force of Luther's example, and such was the excellence of the forms of worship presented in his two chief liturgical writings, that as Kœstlin says, "by these two plans, Luther, while preserving the full freedom of the individual churches, furnished the models according to

* The forms of Lutheran worship are found generally in the *Kirchenordnungen*, that is, Church Orders, which for the most part we have translated *Liturgies*, although a liturgy is "1. In a general but not very precise sense, the established customary formulas for public worship. 2. A technical term to designate that form by which the Holy Eucharist is celebrated." Lee's Glossary. The *Kirchenordnungen* commonly contain about the following parts: Examination of Candidates for the Ministry; Form of Ordination; Ceremonies, that is, the liturgy in the "technical" sense, and other forms of worship; Baptism; Marriage; Burial. Some also contain directions for the conduct of schools, for the administration of discipline, the visitation of the sick, and the performance of other Christian services. Almost every chief city and principality in Germany had its own *Kirchenordnung*. Very many such are in use in Germany and in the United States to-day.

† Augs. Confession, Art. VII.

which the different orders of worship regulated their chief divine service.

“Among the most conservative are the liturgies of Nuremberg (Ansbach-Brandenburg, 1526), [Lucas Osiander], 1525, of Brandenburg, 1540, (Stratner and Buchholtzer, under Joachim II.), the Pfalz-Neuburg, 1543, and the Austrian under Maximilian II., of 1571, and the Strasburg Kirchenamt, of 1524 (Köpphel).

“The liturgies of Northern and Central Germany followed in general the type of the Latin Mass: Those of Brunswick 1528, Hamburg 1529, Minden 1530, Lübeck 1531, Pomeranian 1535, which proceeded from Bugenhagen; the Hanoverian, 1536, by Urban Regius; the Church Order of Duke Henry of Saxony, of 1539, whose competent author was Jonas; that of Naumburg 1537, Mecklenburg 1540, 1552, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (Chemnitz-Andreae) 1569, Lüneburg, Magdeburg, the Westphalian, that of Oldenberg, Riga, the Swedish, &c. In Southern Germany the Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) follows the Latin Mass.

“A more intermediate position is occupied by those liturgies (Kirchenordnungen) composed by Brentz for the relations of Würtemberg: Hall 1525, 1526 (sermon at the beginning of the divine service!) 1543. The great Würtemberg liturgy of 1553 (which corrected the ‘Little’ one influenced by Blaurer into a Lutheran one) is the type. The liturgies of Baden 1556, Pfalz 1554, Worms 1560, and others, have the simple form.” *

Thus the development of the forms of Lutheran worship was three-fold, or into three distinct types. But not only do these types differ from each other; individuals in each of these *types* often differ materially from each other. The one quality in which they agree, and which characterizes them all alike, is *Lutheran doctrine*, without which they could not have been Lutheran liturgies, since the Lutheran Church has always made doctrine the prime and final test, and “all the

* Geschichte, pp. 176, 177.

Church orders since the Wolfenbüttel,* besides the New Testament, accept the symbolical writings as the external mark of their evangelical Protestant faith and character." Funk, *Kirchenordnung*, p. 13.

Funk has stated the development of the Lutheran liturgies as follows:

"United by the power of a living faith into a harmonious and most intelligent piety, confessors of the pure Gospel gathered themselves around the preaching and teaching of the Reformers and their associates, just as around the Apostles; and in order that their posterity might not again go astray, teachers and overseers assembled and devised regulations and arrangements that thereby holy living might be awakened in Christendom. These regulations on the one hand, in contrast with the standing laws of the Romish Church, were to promote the free influence of the Gospel upon the mind; but on the other hand, also, they were to prevent disorder and confusion. In themselves they were not to be regarded as edifying and quickening, but only as a means for the promotion of the Gospel, and, therefore, also not to be imposed as necessary laws, but to be produced as a voluntary agreement; not set up as a finished and obligatory work for all times and places, but much rather composed and altered according to the religious circumstances of each place. Thus each congregation possessed the liberty of making her own regulations, and every such order was allowed, which retained the Gospel unimpaired and in vital activity as the essence and central point of the Church. Finally, in the voluntary arrangement, room was given to spontaneous development, in so far, namely, as out of the increasing knowledge of the Gospel, also spiritualization and simplification of Church forms must necessarily proceed.

"In this manner the Protestant Church orders and liturgies came into existence. From this is explicable their great number, as well as their mutual resemblance and difference.

* Funk means the Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel of 1543, prepared, principally, by Bugenhagen. See Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, Vol. II., p. 56.

In regard to the latter characteristic they may be classed under three heads: 1. Those in which, indeed, the evangelical doctrine is recognized and its distinct proclamation determined, but in which Church regulations in closest agreement with the Papistical were retained. These have set up proper ideas about evangelical Church regulations, but did not carry them out. 2. Those in which the practical directions of Luther were followed. This is especially the case with the liturgies into which his order of worship of 1526 and his other forms were either incorporated, or if, perchance, there were cases of leaning to the Papal ritual, yet, they were used as a basis. Finally, 3. Those in which the Church matters began to be arranged in close accord with the principles of the New Testament, and in which, therefore, Luther's directions were, indeed, regarded or used as types, but upon which Church matters were not exclusively founded. The difference characterizing the two latter classes might also be indicated thus: The one kind tolerated much yet that was not directly opposed to the New Testament, while the other began to introduce that alone which was in strict harmony with the New Testament." *

We now give appropriate examples of the three classes of Lutheran liturgies.

I.

THE ROMANIZING LITURGIES.

For the ultra-conservative or Romanizing class we give the Mark Brandenburg, which Daniel calls "*Liturgiam Luthero-Romanizantem, quae, doctrinae ingenio diligenter servato, quoad caerimonias in vestigiis stare videtur Pontificionum.*" (*Codex Liturgicus*, II., 124). It is strictly Lutheran in doctrine, but is closely conformed to the Roman Mass in matters of ceremony. The authors of this order of service were Stratner and George Buchholtzer.

Besides an unusual amount of Latin and a long list of festival days "it restored almost literally the Gregorian Mass Text" (Alt). Luther himself was displeased with it, and

* *Kirchenordnung*, Preface, pp. 5, 6.

wrote to George Solinus thus: "I do not think those additions will last long, especially the prolixity of the Mass and other acts. When they begin to be despised, and to go down of their own accord, they will not long resist the contempt of the people." De Wette, V., p. 307. Alt tells us that Luther's prophecy soon came true, for already in 1554 changes were made, and 1572 a new order was instituted.*

The following translation is made from the text given in Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, II., pp. 326-7. Omissions, indicated by notes inclosed in brackets, the reader can supply by reference to the works named.

MARK BRANDENBURG, 1540. ORDER OF THE MASS.

When the priest holds the Mass, he and his assistant in their usual churchly attire, according to the custom of each church, shall go to the altar. He shall begin by saying the *Confiteor*. Then shall be sung the usual introit followed by Kyrie Eleison, according to circumstances. Then the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which with the *et in terra* belongs to the Kyrie, shall be sung. Then shall the priest chant the *Dominus vobiscum* and the collect belonging to the Mass. Then the Epistle according to the circumstances of the time and the festivals. The above named hymns and the Epistle shall all be chanted in Latin. The Epistle which has been chanted shall then be read to the people. After the Epistle, the people may begin and sing a German hymn. Then the Alleluia and the sequence shall be sung, or according to the circumstances of the time a Latin tractus. Then the Gospel with the preceding customary benediction shall be chanted in Latin. Then the Gospel which has been chanted shall be read to the people in German with a clear voice. Then shall the priest chant *Credo in unum Deum*, the Creed. In cathedrals and monasteries it shall be chanted in Latin, but in parishes the German "*Wir glauben all an Einen Gott*" shall be sung. Then the priest shall chant *Domine vobiscum absque oremus*. Then the hymn which has heretofore been

* See Christlicher Cultus, p. 272.

used as an offertory shall be sung. Then the priest shall chant the usual preface, followed by the Latin Sanctus, all to be chanted in Latin. During the Sanctus, the priest shall pray the following prayer in German. [Here follow the last, the next to the last, the fourth and fifth collects from the Brandenburg-Nuremberg.] *Then shall he sing in German Verba consecrationis with elevation, as follows:* Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night, etc.

Here with a gentle inclination elevate it reverently. *Then take the cup with both hands and say:* Likewise also the cup after the supper, etc. *Elevate the cup.*

After the elevation in cathedrals and monasteries a Latin hymn shall be sung, as the responsory, Tua est potentia, etc. But in parishes a German hymn, Es wolt uns Gott gnedig sein, oder sey lob und danck mit hohem preis. Then the Lord's Prayer shall be sung in German as follows: Let us pray as the Lord Jesus Christ has commanded us, and with true assurance and confidence dare to say: Our Father, etc.

Let all the people say Amen.

Turning to the people let him chant, The peace of the Lord be with you all. *Let all the people say Amen.*

Thou Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Thou Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

The Agnus Dei shall also be sung in Latin. Bow down, Lord Jesus Christ, etc. [As in the Roman Mass book.]

Let them say, Lord Jesus Christ, etc. [As in the Roman Mass book, yet free us (instead of me), and make us (instead of me) etc.]

Another prayer. The sacrament of thy body, Lord Jesus Christ, which we unworthy, etc. [As in the Roman Mass book.]

Then turning to the people let him read this exhortation: Dearly beloved, etc. [As in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg.]

Then shall be begun the responsory Discubuit Jesus in Latin, and if the communicants are so many that it will not hold out, the people shall say in German, Gott sey gelobet, or Jesus Christus unser Heiland. If the Discubuit has sufficed, one of these hymns shall be sung after the Communion.

Now the communicants approach and when the body is presented, then let the priest say, Take and eat, etc. [As in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg.]

At the cup let the deacon say: Take and drink, etc. [As in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg.] Then turning to the people let him say the following thanksgiving. O Almighty God, etc. [As in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg.]

Then let him bow and say: Thy body, O Lord, which we sinners have received with the mouth, etc. [According to the Roman Mass book.]

We now present in full outline two others belonging to this class: First the Strasburg Kirchenamtb (1524) by Köpphel, and secondly the Austrian (1571) by Chytraeus. The former is entirely in German; the latter has the German and Latin forms alternating throughout.

STRASBURG KIRCHENAMBT.

AUSTRIAN.

In the name of the Father, etc.....	Opening Hymn.
	Exhortation to Confession.
	Adjutorium (Our help, etc.).
Confiteor	Confession.
	Absolution.
	Exhortation to Prayer.
Introit	Introit.
Gloria Patri	Gloria Patri.
Kyrie	Kyrie.
Gloria in Excelsis.....	Gloria in Excelsis.
The Lord be with you.....	Salutation.
Collect	Collect.
Epistle	Epistle.
Alleluia	Hallelujah or Psalm.
Gospel	Gospel.
Apostles' Creed or Nicene Creed.....	Nicene or Apostles' Creed.
Sermon	Sermon.
Exhortation (Brief).....	General Prayer.
	Lord's Prayer.

Preface	Preface.
Sanctus	Sanctus.
Prayer	Prayer for Communicants.
Consecration	Lord's Prayer.
Prayer (with Lord's Prayer).	
Agnus Dei	Pax.
Prayer	Words of Institution.
Distribution	Distribution with Agnus.
Nunc Dimittis	Thanksgiving.
Thanksgiving Hymn	Psalm.
The Lord be with you.....	Lord's Prayer.
Prayer	Benediction.
Benedicamus.	
Benediction.	

II.

THE LITURGIES OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GERMANY.

Kliefoth calls these *Der ächte typus*—the proper type. Harnack designates them as the *Majoritäts Praxis*. They are founded, for the most part, on Luther's *Formula Missae* (1523), and exhibit the form of liturgical service most widely used in Germany in the sixteenth century. But while constituting one type, they exhibit manifold individual differences, and thus show that the Lutheran Church laid no stress on uniformity of practice in the ceremonies of worship. To represent this class we introduce entire the Brandenburg-Nuremberg (omitting only the collects) and the Saxon, of which Dr. Krauth wrote: "The Brandenburg-Nuremberg liturgy of 1533 and the Saxon of 1539 belong to the greatest and most widely used liturgies of the sixteenth century." And again: "The Nuremberg and Saxon orders were the most influential and widely used of Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century."—*Mercersburg Review*, 1869, pp. 603, 606.

I. THE BRANDENBURG-NUREMBERG, 1533.

This order was composed by Osiander and Brentz, and was approved by the theologians at Wittenberg "as not inconsistent with the Word of God, and as in harmony with the Visitation Articles."* Richter says that next to the Vis-

* De Wette's *Luther's Briefe*, IV. 387-8.

itation Articles, no liturgy had authority in wider circles. * Klöpfer calls it "the foundation of many other liturgies." Löhe quotes Chytraeus as saying of it, "Caeterarum publice et privatim postea scriptarum fontem et veluti matrem." †

We translate from a copy of the original edition, bearing date 1533, without place of publication or name of printer, but supposed to have been done at Nuremberg by Joyce Gutknecht. (See Feuerlin, pp. 276-7). Copies of other editions (1564-1591) and the reprint given by Richter, are in our hands.

TRANSLATION :

HOW THE ORDER OF THE MASS SHALL BE OBSERVED. ‡

As soon as the priest comes to the altar he may say the *Confiteor*, or whatever his devotion may suggest to him. Then he may read the introit, which should be taken from Holy Scripture. Where there is a school the scholars shall sing the introit in Latin. In villages where the people cannot sing in Latin, there, in accordance with the custom of each place, a Christian German hymn shall be sung. But where the people cannot sing such a hymn, the pastors shall instruct them. But where, as in some cities and villages already, the introits and other like hymns have been prepared in German, or shall yet be so prepared, no change may be made.

Then he (the priest) shall read the Kyrie Eleison and *Et in terra* in Latin. The scholars or people may sing it in Latin or German, as their custom may be. Then shall the priest turn towards the people and say or sing *Dominus vobiscum*, or *The Lord be with you*. This is followed by one or more collects, according to the circumstances of the times, and for various interests of Christendom. And because these are

* Kirchenordnungen, I., p. 177.

† Sammlung, Drittes Heft, p. 5.

‡ The Lutheran Church long retained the word *Mass*, as the name (to which the people were accustomed) for the sacrament and communion of the Lord's Supper; but it did not in any sense associate with the word the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice.

said for the whole congregation, they shall be said in German, in order that the people may hear and understand the same, and at the same time devoutly meditate and pray in like manner. To this diligent attention and devout contemplation shall the people be exhorted by the preachers in their sermons. And as several are appointed hereafter, from which each may select according to his own pleasure, let him especially choose one which has reference to spiritual matters. Afterwards, if he desires, or if the circumstances and requirements of the times demand it, he may also pray for the temporal peace and for the fruit of the field, etc., and for other interests of the common Christendom.

Now follow the collects or prayers [fifteen common or general prayers, six for the chief festivals, one for the coming of the kingdom, one for the doing of God's will, and two *pro pace*].

After the prayer he shall read a chapter from the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, Peter or John, etc., in German, beginning thus:

Beloved, hear attentively the first chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.

At the end he shall conclude thus: This is the first chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.

After the Epistle he may read an Alleluia with its verse in Latin, or a gradual taken from Holy Scripture. The same may the scholars also sing in Latin.

Then shall he read a chapter from the Gospel or the Acts of the Apostles, and begin the Creed, which the scholars shall sing in Latin, as the custom is, or the people shall sing the Creed in German. Thereupon on a Sunday shall follow the usual Sermon. After the Sermon shall follow the Supper.

ORDER OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

When the priest wishes to celebrate the Lord's Supper (provided he have communicants), he shall then make the following exhortation to the people. The words of the Supper, where the Mass is sung, shall be used in the following

manner, and according to the notes hereafter given. Or if he read the Mass he shall read it with loud, distinct utterance, in order that the people present may hear it.

THE EXHORTATION.

Dearly beloved in God: Inasmuch as we now intend to commemorate and observe the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he has given us his flesh for food and his blood for drink, in order to strengthen faith, each one of us should examine himself with great care, as St. Paul exhorts us; for this Holy Sacrament is given as a special comfort and strengthening to poor, sorrowing consciences, which confess their sins, fear God's wrath and death, and do hunger and thirst after righteousness. If we examine ourselves, and descend each one into his own conscience, as St. Paul exhorts us, we shall certainly not find anything except divers grievous sins, and death, which we have merited through sin, and from which we can in no way deliver ourselves. For this reason, our dear Lord Jesus Christ hath had mercy upon us, and on account of our sins became man, in order that in our behalf he might fulfill the law and the whole will of God; and death and everything which we had incurred by our sins he took upon himself, and suffered for us and for our deliverance. And that we might ever truly believe this, and through faith might joyfully live according to his will, after the Supper he took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said: "Take and eat: this is my body which is given for you:" that is, my becoming man, and all that I do and suffer, is all your own, and was done on your behalf: of which as a pledge and testimony I give you my body as food. Likewise, also, he took the cup and said: "Take and drink ye all of it; this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; as oft as ye do this ye do thereby remember me." That is, because I have interested myself in your behalf, and have taken the burden of your sins upon myself, I will offer myself in death for sin, will shed my blood, secure grace and

forgiveness of sin, and thus set up a New Testament whereby sin shall be forgiven and remembered no more forever, of which as a sure pledge and testimony I give you my blood to drink. Whosoever thus eats this bread and drinks of this cup, also firmly believing the words which he hears from Christ, and these pledges which he receives from Christ, abides in Christ the Lord, and Christ in him, and he shall live forever. Thus shall we hold him in remembrance, and proclaim his death, namely, that he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and thus we give him thanks and take up our cross and follow him, and according to his commandment, we shall love one another as he hath loved us, for we are all one bread and one body, because we all partake of one bread and one cup.

Our Lord Jesus Christ on the night in which he was betrayed . . . in remembrance of me. [In the original the words of institution are set to music and are chanted by the minister. This is the consecration of the elements.]

Then follows the Sanctus, Latin or German. Then immediately: Admonished by thy salutary precepts and guided by thy divine institution, let us presume to say: Our Father etc., to be followed immediately by Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, or in German as hereafter is set to notes.

Our Father who art in heaven . . . but deliver us from evil, Amen. [The Lord's Prayer, with the doxology omitted, is set to music, and is chanted by the minister.]

The peace of the Lord be with you all. Amen. *After this those who have previously announced themselves shall come to the Holy Sacrament of the Supper of Christ, which shall be administered to them with these words: Take and eat. This is the body of Christ which is given for you.*

And with the cup

Take and drink. This is the blood of the New Testament which was shed for thy sins.

Where the pastor has no deacon he shall give to every one the body of Christ before he gives the cup to any one. But

where he has assistants (Levites) one of these may hand the cup to each one that has received the body of Christ.

While this is being done the scholars shall sing: *Agnus Dei*, etc.

But where there are no scholars present the congregation may sing something that is in accord with God's Word and the occasion, as the custom is. Where the number of persons is so great that much time is required, there shall be sung not only one *communio* (taken from Holy Scripture) but something more may and shall be sung, until all the people have been served, as *Responsorium Discubuit*, or whatever is in harmony with the Scriptures. When all the people have been served, a general thanksgiving prayer shall be publicly said in German thus:

LET US PRAY.

Almighty everlasting God, we give praise and thanks for thy divine tenderness, because thou hast fed us with the salutary flesh, and given us to drink the blood of thine only Son Jesus Christ our Lord. And we humbly pray that thou wouldst work in us through thy Holy Spirit that as with the mouth we have received this Holy Sacrament, so we may also with firm faith apprehend and eternally keep thy divine grace, forgiveness of sins, union with Christ, and eternal life, which is therein signified and promised through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who with thee in unity with the Holy Spirit, lives and reigns true God, world without end. Amen.

ANOTHER THANKSGIVING.

We thank thee, Almighty God, that thou hast refreshed us through this salutary gift of thy body and blood, and we beseech that of thy mercy thou wouldst cause this act to strengthen faith towards thee, and to work ardent love among us all, through the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

Deo Gratias.

Then let him pronounce the benediction upon the people as follows:

The Lord bless thee and keep thee: The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace. Amen.

Or thus:

God be gracious and merciful unto us, and give us his divine blessing, cause his face to shine upon us and grant us his peace. Amen.

Or thus:

Bless and keep us, God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Or thus:

The blessing of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, be with you and abide with us all. Amen.

BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.

2. THE SAXON, 1539.

Duke George of Saxony, an ardent adherent of the old faith, was succeeded by his brother Henry, who immediately introduced the Reformation into his dominions. An order of worship and Church government was prepared by Justus Jonas, assisted by Spalatin, Creutziger, Myconius, Minius and Weller. It was approved by Luther (see *Corpus Ref.*, VII. 42), and revised with additions in 1548 (see *Corpus Ref.*, VII. 203). Richter says it passed through various editions and was widely followed (*Kirchenordnungen*, I. p. 307). Daniel selects it as representative of the true old Lutheran liturgy, and calls it "in the highest sense a genuine offspring of the Lutheran Church" (*Codex Lit.*, II. p. 123). Our translation is made from a copy of the first edition printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft, the preface bearing date September 19th, 1539. Richter's reprint is from a copy of this edition. The German is: *Kirchen-ordnungen für die Pfarherrn in Hertzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen v. g. h. Fürstenthum*. 1539. For the sake of those who can read German, and as an example of a "genuine old Lutheran liturgy," we present first the German text.

COMMUNIO.

Wenn man nach eines jeden orts gewonheit, wie man etwa zur Messen gepflegt, ausgeleutet, sollen die Schuler singen: Erstlich den Introitum von der Dominica, oder Festen. Darauff das Kyrie Eleison, Gloria in Excelsis, und Et in terra Latinisch, darnach die Collecten deutsch oder Latinisch. Darauff die Epistel gegen dem volck deutsch; darnach ein Sequentz, oder deutschen Psalm, oder andern geistlichen gesang, wie solches ein jedezeit erfordert.

Darnach das Evangelium von der Dominica oder vom Fest, auch gegen dem volck deutsch gelesen. Darauff den Glauben gesungen: Wir gleuben all an einen Gott, etc.

Folgende die Predigt des Evangelii von der Dominica oder Fest, wie solchs die zeit bringet.

Nach die Predigt lese man dem volck die Paraphrasim des Vater unsers für, mit der vermanung zum Sacrament für dem Altar. Darnach singe man die Verba testamenti zu deutsche, unser Herr Jhesu Christ in der nacht da er verraten ward, etc.

Wenn solche wort gesungen, las man darauff das volck singen, Jhesus Christus unser Heiland, etc., oder Gott sey gelobet, etc. Auch mag man zuzeiten, sonderlich auff die Festa, die Paraphrasim und vermanung dem volck furzulesen, nachlassen, und dafur die Latinische Prefation singen, darauff das Latinische Sanctus. Nach dem selbigen das Vater unser und die Verba testamenti deutsch, und darauff unter der Communion das Agnus Dei Latinisch, sampt dem deutschen gesang, Jhesus Christus, nach dem der Communicanten viel oder wenig sein.

Unter dem gesang Communicire man das volck sub utraque specie.

Nach der Communion lese man die collecta, und beschliesse mit der Benediction.

Translation.

COMMUNION.

According to the custom of each place when the Mass is

to be celebrated and the bells have ceased ringing, the scholars shall sing: First the introit of the Lord's day or of the festival. Then the Kyrie Eleison, Gloria in Excelsis, and Et in terra in Latin, then the collect in German or Latin. After that the Epistle towards the people in German; then the sequence, or German Psalm or some other spiritual hymn, such as each time requires.

Then the Gospel of the Lord's day, or of the festival, is read also towards the people. Then the Creed is sung: Wir glauben all an einen Gott, etc.

The preaching of the Gospel of the Lord's day or of the festival follows, as the time may indicate. After the preaching, read to the people the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer,* with Exhortation to the sacrament before the altar. Then sing the *Verba Testamenti* in German. Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed, etc.

When these words have been sung, then let the people sing, Jesus Christus unser Heiland, etc., or Gott sei gelobet, etc. Sometimes, especially at festivals, the reading of the Paraphrase and the Exhortation may be omitted, and instead the Latin Preface may be sung, followed by the Latin Sanctus. After this the Lord's Prayer and the *Verba Testamenti* in German. Then during the Communion the Agnus Dei, together with the German hymn, Jesus Christus, according as the communicants are many or few.

During the singing the people receive the Communion under both kinds.

After the Communion read the collect, and close with the benediction.

The two foregoing examples, the Brandenburg-Nuremberg and the Saxon, illustrate what Daniel calls the genuine old Lutheran liturgy, or as we would prefer to say with Harnack, the Lutheran liturgy in its most widely accepted forms.

It is the order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in

*As in Luther's German Mass.

large towns and cities, where it was supposed that there would be communicants every Sunday, and where there were schools and ample provision for singing. Nearly all these liturgies have simple forms for communion in villages and in country churches, or "where there are no schools."

That the forms of service last given may be the more easily understood, we present the following outlines, which may be compared with the full text. We omit the *Confiteor* from the Brandenburg-Nuremberg because it is not a proper part of the liturgical services, but the *Beichtgebet des Priesters*, that is, the private devotion of the minister at the altar before beginning the service:

BRANDENBURG-NUREMBERG.

SAXON.

Introit	Introit.
Kyrie	Kyrie.
Gloria in Excelsis.....	Gloria in Excelsis.
The Lord be with you.	
Collect	Collect.
Epistle	Epistle.
Alleluia or Gradual	Sequence or Psalm or Hymn.
Gospel	Gospel.
Creed	Creed.
Sermon	Sermon.
Exhortation	Preface, or Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer.
Consecration	Consecration.
Lord's Prayer with Pax.	
Distribution with Agnus.....	Distribution with Agnus.
Thanksgiving Collect	Thanksgiving Collect.
Benedicamus.	
Benediction	Benediction.

With the above may be compared the full outline of two other standard liturgies, viz., the Brunswick, prepared by Bugenhagen, and the Spangenberg Kirchengesänge composed by John Spangenberg at the request of Luther, which contains a service for every Sunday and festival of the Church year set to music:

BRUNSWICK, 1531.

SPANGENBERG, 1545.

German Psalm	Kom, Heiliger Geist. Collect.
Kyrie	Kyrie.

Gloria in Excelsis	Gloria in Excelsis.
Collect	Collect.
Epistle	Epistle.
Halleluia or Psalm	Hymn.
Gospel	Gospel.
Creed	Creed.
Sermon	Sermon.
German Psalm or Hymn.	
Preface.....	} optional..... { Preface.
Sanctus	
Exhortation	Paraphrase of Lord's Prayer, with Exhortation.
Lord's Prayer.	
Words of Institution	Words of Institution.
Distribution with Hymn.....	Distribution with Agnus.
Agnus Dei.	
Thanksgiving Collect	Thanksgiving Collect.
Benediction	Benediction.
	Da Pacem.

Other important liturgies of this class, not already mentioned in the present chapter, are the First Wittenberg (1533) which was ordered by the council of Wittenberg, and which superseded the personal orders of Bugenhagen and Luther; the Saxon Visitation Articles, which were prepared for the second visitation of electoral Saxony in 1533; the Wittenberg (1559), which is a reprint of the Mecklenburg of 1554; the Calenberg (1569); the Saxon of 1580. But none of these differ very materially from those already presented either in full text or in full outline, except that the Wittenberg (1559) has a form of confession and absolution to be said by the minister and his assistant before beginning the service proper with the introit.

In the seventeenth century new orders and liturgies were introduced into almost all the provinces of Germany. But the form and order of service remained in general what they were in the preceding century. There was substantial agreement, but local variations.

Among the more important liturgies of this second century of the Lutheran Church, are the revised Mecklenburg (1602), presented pretty fully in a subsequent chapter; the

Coburg (1626); the Revised Mecklenburg (1650); that for Saxony, Julichs, Cleves and Bergen, published at Weimar in 1664. We present full outlines of the Coburg and the Saxon, Julichs, etc.

COBURG, 1626.

SAXON, ETC., 1664.

Kom, Heiliger Geist.....	Kom, Heiliger Geist as Introit.
Introit.	
Kyrie	Kyrie.
Gloria in Excelsis.....	Gloria in Excelsis.
Collect	Collect.
Epistle	Epistle.
Psalm or Hymn	Hymn.
Gospel	Gospel.
Creed	Hymn or Creed.
Sermon	Lord's Prayer and Sermon.
Confession and Absolution.....	Hymn.
Exhortation	Lord's Prayer.
Lord's Prayer	Exhortation.
Words of Institution	Words of Institution.
Distribution with Agnus.....	Distribution.
Collect	Collect.
Benediction	Benediction.

It is directed that the confession and absolution in the Coburg shall be said only when there are communicants, and both liturgies close with the direction: "When no communicants are present the service shall conclude after the sermon with a Christian motet or German hymn, a collect and the usual benediction."

III.

THE LITURGIES OF SOUTH AND SOUTHWESTERN GERMANY.

We come now to the consideration of what Harnack calls the *Minoritäts Praxis*, or the liturgies of south and southwestern Germany. We find a very proper introduction in the words of Löhe. After giving in his first table a full comparative view of the liturgies of northern and central Germany, he presents a table which exhibits the full outlines of a number of the liturgies of south and southwestern Germany, or in his own language, "exhibits orders of the chief divine service in more *independent form*." He then pro-

ceeds: "If the first table presents the principle of uniting love, and freedom *within the same*, the second shows the principle of Christian freedom with all unity in doctrine. If the tendency of the north and east and southeast is reflected in the first table, so we find in the second that of the west and southwest. If the filial attachment not only to Luther's fundamental principles, but also to his example, shows itself more in the former, in the latter one sees, to the great glory of true evangelical unity, which does not rest upon liturgies (see 'it is enough,' Article VII., Augs. Con.), a principle of the Evangelical Church, which fixes attention upon the fundamentals, but is indifferent about voluntary forms. If in the former more thought, more order, more art and beauty prevail, in the latter a satisfaction with the main substance and the one thing which is needful is more apparent. In the last characteristic, by fidelity in Lutheran fundamentals, not less than by freedom, is especially distinguished the peculiar liturgy of the peculiar congregation of Andorff (Antwerp), which was published in 1567. Moreover, that in this collection a preference is given to the first class of liturgies, which, also, so far as the author can see, is the richer, is as little to be wondered at as the assertion *that it is that* which represents the real *German Lutheran* Reformation in liturgy, and strengthens the consciousness of the catholicity of the Evangelical Church in regard to the proper measure of the liturgy." *

Kliefoth says that these southwestern German liturgies "are fairly well characterized by calling them an abbreviation of the full Lutheran service." † On page 99 of the same work he finds the chief difference between this type and that of northern and central Germany in the fact that the liturgies of this type generally order the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the cities every month, in the villages every two months, or so often as there are communicants, and order

* Sammlung, Drittes Heft, p. 6.

† Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung, p. 29.

that on such occasions the sermon shall be a Communion sermon. But not even in these particulars are they uniform.

Some of these liturgies are very simple, like the liturgies of the Reformed; others approximate more closely in fullness and in the number of parts to the Lutheran liturgies of northern and central Germany. In their *origin* they are *entirely* free from Reformed influence.* Also, as a "*more independent form*," they are largely free from the liturgical reformation at Wittenberg.

Already in 1522 Matthew Alber, pastor at Reutlingen, reformed the Mass. Brentz discontinued the Roman Catholic Mass at Swabian Hall in 1523. Wolfgang Volprecht began to celebrate the Lord's Supper in German at Nuremberg in 1524. These, with many other pastors and theologians of southwestern Germany, had received Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as against that of Zwingli, as is shown by the celebrated *Swabian Syngamma*,† composed by fourteen

* Prof. Palmer, writing of the liturgy of Württemberg, says: "The liturgy is so reduced to that which is most essential, that it even contains less than the Calvinistic worship; since, according to the latter, on Sunday before the morning sermon the Ten Commandments are read and a general confession is held. But it would be a false inference if one were to refer such simplicity to Reformed influence on the organization of the Church of this country. It is independent, and sprang up on Swabian territory, as a fruit of a characteristic opposition of the people to the entire matter of forms, in regard to which it was feared that so soon as they should become fixed, in undue length, they would result in a mechanical externality, and be no more the true expression of that which at the moment the heart felt. It was Matthew Alber who first at Reutlingen reduced the liturgy to the necessary minimum. Thence it passed over to Stuttgart and into the country, and the rigid Lutherans, Schnepf, Brentz, Andreä, made no objection to it: Proof enough that with the acceptance of Lutheran doctrine, they were not at all willing to surrender their individual preferences." *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1866, p. 116.

† On the sixteenth of November, 1524, Zwingli addressed a strictly private letter to Matthew Alber, in which he set forth his views of the Lord's Supper, basing them principally on the sixth chapter of John's Gospel. This letter and Oecolampadius, *Liber de Sacra Coena*, were the direct occasion of the *Syngamma*, dated October 21st, 1525, which in the edition before us covers forty-four quarto pages. Though it ex-

Swabian divines. Brentz sought especially to restore the institution of the Lord's Supper to its original simplicity "as it was appointed by Christ and administered in the ancient Church." With this end in view he composed his liturgy of 1526.

In 1536 Schnepf and Blaurer composed the "Little Württemberg," after they had agreed on a rigid statement of Lutheran doctrine.* This order, which was approved by Brentz exhibits Blaurer's tendency in some ecclesiastical features towards greater simplicity.

In 1543 Brentz prepared a liturgy for Swabian Hall. Its full outline is as follows:

Introit. After the Collect, a Gradual, Alleluia, or Sequence. The Gospel. The Nicene Creed. Communion with German Exhortation, Consecration, and Distribution, the scholars meanwhile singing the *Sanctus*. Creed in German, or a spiritual song. Sermon. General Prayer. Alms. German song.

Daniel classes this with "the genuine old Lutheran liturgy."

In 1553 Brentz composed the "Great Württemberg" Church Order, in which he restored some of the features

pressly denies oral manducation and eating the body of Christ by the ungodly, Luther regarded it as so excellent a defence of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that when it was translated into German, he edited it with two laudatory prefaces, and again in a letter, dated September 13th, 1527, declares that it contains his views. De Wette, III., p. 202.

The following statement of Dr. Ebrard, the distinguished Reformed historian and dogmatician, is remarkable alike for its candor and its fidelity to facts: "The Reformation of Zurich, and the eastern Cantons in Switzerland, originated from a stock entirely different from that of Germany. It is true that the activity of Zwingli, at first, extended far into South Germany, but his influence there was entirely destroyed by the Synggrammatical controversy, and from 1524 onward, the Zwinglian Church of German Switzerland stood as an isolated member, by the side of the Church of the empire, viz., the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and the accession to the Wittenberg Concord only produced momentary interruption of this isolation." Reformirtes Kirchenbuch, Einleitung, translated in Mercersburg Review, 1850, p. 303:

* See Bomberger's Kurtz's Church History, Vol. II., pp. 79, 82.

omitted from that of 1536.* This Church Order, because of its intrinsic excellence and its rigid adherence to Lutheran doctrines, and through the great influence of Duke Christopher, became a model for many other countries and cities of southwestern Germany. The German writers select it as representative of its class. Our translation of its liturgy is made from a Frankfort reprint of 1564. It is also found reprinted in Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus* (Vol. II.), and in Richter's *Kirchenordnungen* (Vol. II.).

THE GREAT WURTEMBERG, 1553.

ORDER OF THE SUPPER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

In the first place, in the principal cities the Supper of Christ shall be held every month, and, if possible, every fourteen days—yea, as often and as frequently as there may be communicants (especially on Sundays and other festivals which are observed in the Church), who have reported themselves as directed above. The ministers also shall earnestly

* The great Württemberg Order restored Private Confession and Absolution, and the *Chorroch*. It gave more prominence to Church song, and made the Church year more complete. The liturgy proper of the Order of 1536, is actually fuller and more complete than that of 1553, as the following outlines show:

1536. 1. *Come, Holy Spirit*, in German. 2. German Psalm. 3. Sermon. Not to exceed one hour, on week days a half hour. To preach on regular Gospels, and also through Gospels and Epistles in course. 4. Creed in German. 5. Exhortation. 6. Confession. 7. Absolution. 8. Lord's Prayer sung by the people. 9. Words of Institution said by the minister standing behind the altar with his face to the people. 10. Distribution while the Sanctus or other appropriate hymn is sung, the bread being given at one part of the altar, the wine at the other. 11. Collect for worthy use. 12. Aaronic benediction. Ministers must take care that the service be not so long as to weary the people.

1553. 1. Song, *Come, Holy Ghost*, or another suitable to the season. 2. Sermon on Gospel for day. 3. Creed. 4. Exhortation. 5. Collect, with reference to the Communion. 6. Lord's Prayer sung in German. 7. Words of Institution. 8. Distribution with song. 9. Thanksgiving. 10. Benediction. See Lutheran Church Review, 1882, p. 286; also the liturgies themselves in Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*. Thus it appears that Brentz's *own* work was in the direction of *liturgical* simplification.

exhort the people, and diligently point out to them the benefits and necessity of partaking of this sacrament, that they cheerfully and often attend upon it.

When, therefore, the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated on a Sunday or some festival in the Church, let the service begin with the hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit," etc., "Now we pray the Holy Ghost," etc., or otherwise with a German Psalm, or any spiritual song suitable to the occasion.

The usual sermon shall follow this hymn, in which, in addition to the subject of the customary text of the Gospel, a short account shall be given of the use and benefits of the sacrament of the Holy Supper.

After the sermon the Creed shall be sung in German.

Thereupon the minister standing before the altar from which the Supper is to be administered, shall read to the congregation the following exhortation:

EXHORTATION CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER.

[Similar to that of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg, given above.]

Then shall be read the following exhortation to public confession, together with the same Confession and Absolution included above under the chapter concerning Repentance, immediately after which the following written prayer shall be offered, thus:

LET US PRAY.

Almighty God, Heavenly Father, forasmuch as we cannot be pleasing to thee, save alone through thy beloved Son, our Lord, do thou sanctify us in body and soul, and grant us, that with truly believing desire and thankfulness, we may in his Holy Supper receive saving fellowship with him, to the end that once more comforted by thy everlasting goodness and love toward us, and confirmed in newness of life, we may live and serve, with more diligence and fear, to the praise of thy holy name and the edification of thy people, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Thereupon the congregation shall sing the Lord's Prayer together in German.

Then shall the minister, after having placed the bread and wine before himself for the Lord's Supper, read with clear and distinct voice the words of institution of the Supper as they are delivered by the Evangelists and St. Paul. For although the exhortation previously read necessarily includes the institution of the Supper, together with the declaration of the death of Christ and its benefits (the congregation would also be sufficiently reminded and instructed that the bread and wine now present were blessed and set apart for the reception of the true body and blood of Christ by the first institution of our Lord Jesus Christ), yet, because the words of the holy Evangelists and of St. Paul, concerning the Supper of Christ, constitute the parts of the Supper of Christ in an appropriate, brief and orderly summary, therefore, in administering the Supper they must not be omitted, but shall be read openly and intelligibly as follows :

THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night . . . in remembrance of me.

Then immediately the people shall approach in an orderly manner, and at one side of the altar receive the body of Christ, and at the other side the blood of Christ, especially when the number of communicants is large, and two ministers are engaged in the administration of the sacrament.

Notwithstanding that both the bread and wine used for the true Supper, have been appropriately set apart in the institution of Christ, which was read beforehand in the exhortation, and afterwards repeated, and therefore but few more words are needed, yet for a more lively remembrance, the minister, in presenting the body and blood of Christ, may use to each communicant words like the following :

Take and eat. This is the body of Christ which is given for you.

Take and drink. This is the blood of Christ which is shed for thy sins.

While the people are coming to the Supper and are communing, the congregation shall sing:

To God be grateful praise and blessing,
Who by his hand hath fed us.

Or,

Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Or,

Any other spiritual Hymn of praise suitable to the occasion.

When the Supper of Christ has been administered to all the communicants, the minister shall offer one of the following prayers:

THANKSGIVING AFTER THE COMMUNION.

Let us pray.

[Here follow two brief thanksgiving collects.]

Then shall we conclude the Supper with the benediction.

BENEDICTION.

[Here follow three forms of benediction.]

A study of the class of Lutheran liturgies of which the one just given is truly representative, leads to the following conclusions: (a) They are thoroughly Lutheran in doctrine. Nowhere is the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper stated in more positive and emphatic terms than in these southwestern German liturgies. The same can be said in regard of the treatment of all other Lutheran doctrines, for these southwestern German Church orders, like those of northern Germany, usually contain sections on the Catechism, Baptism, Church Government, etc. They also, like those of northern Germany, plant themselves unequivocally on the Lutheran confessional writings. (b) The liturgies of this class give relatively greater prominence to preaching, thus more fully carrying out the Lutheran principle that preaching is the most important part of divine worship and

the chief means of grace. Already in his first Order (1526) Brentz declared that "on the whole earth nothing more holy, edifying, comforting and fruitful can be found than the pure preaching of God's Word with the proper understanding and faith." (c) They are a "more independent form" of the Lutheran reformation of worship, that is, they omit, through the free choice of their composers, several parts usually found in the liturgies of northern Germany, thus as Harnack says: "Joining on to the German Mass," and more fully carrying out Luther's idea of simplicity in worship. (d) They furnish the most convincing proof of the confessional principle of the Lutheran Church, that ecclesiastical unity is not to be sought in ceremonies or Church usages, but *alone in doctrine*.*

They are true Lutheran liturgies, in the sense that they were made by men and used by churches professing unqualifiedly the Lutheran doctrine. If here and there, after the

* Dr. Palmer, professor of homiletics and liturgics at Tübingen, declared: "It is worthy of remark that it never occurred to any one (least of all to Luther himself) to set up a uniform liturgy for the entire Lutheran Church, but in all unity of spirit and fundamental forms every country and every imperial city retained its own order. Therefore, even Würtemberg was not regarded as an un-Lutheran country, notwithstanding that already in the Little Order (1536), and after the Interim, which stirred up hatred against all Catholic forms, and in the Great Order (1553), the liturgy was reduced to the greatest simplicity, so that in forms it was even simpler than the Calvinistic." (Herzog, Real-Encyc., Art. Liturgy), See Grüneisen: Die Evangelische Gottesd. in den Oberd. Landen, pp. 24, 30. Also Hüffell's Der Evangelische Geistliche: "The Reformers were guided chiefly by two fundamental principles: 1. That the external worship does not in and of itself commend to God. 2. That the preaching of the Gospel is the chief thing. After the convention at Augsburg the Protestants declared themselves prepared to retain external ceremonies, provided the essence of religion were not sought therein. At the Smalcald Convention it was resolved to introduce into the Church uniform usages, but the same year, at a Convention at Frankfort, this resolution was rescinded, because it seemed contradictory to Protestant freedom. (See Plank's Hist. Prot. Theology, 6: 126, 201). Fundamental principles, which must certainly be honored when the nature of Christian worship is clearly comprehended, and the difference between external and internal worship is understood," Second Vol., p. 111.

middle of the sixteenth century, they united some slight features of the Reformed liturgy, this was done by free choice, and it was never thought or said that the men who composed them, or the churches which used them, had in any sense departed from the Lutheran principles of worship, or had violated the law of freedom in the use of ceremonies. They exhibit the *Minoritäts Praxis* and an abbreviation of the fuller liturgies of northern and central Germany, in which, as may be conceded, "more thought, more order, more art and beauty prevail."

And now, if we take a survey of the entire field of the Lutheran liturgies, we will see the justness of Löhe's observations: "Luther held fast the principles of liberty above everything; he accounted all ceremonies as *adiaphora*." And again, "This principle of liberty the Evangelical Church has not at any time suffered herself to be deprived of. *They did not seek in uniformity of ceremonies, as to-day is so often done, a means of establishing unity of spirit.*" (Italics, Löhe's own.) "There are liturgies of the Evangelical Church, which closely follow Luther's example in his liturgical writings, and remain conformed to the Roman Mass. Most of the liturgies of northern and northeastern Germany belong to this class. In other sections, namely, the south and southwest, they departed quite from Luther, took their own course, and in ceremonies proceeded in a Reformed manner, without, on that account, being deprived of unity in spirit and confession. For the *first* class of liturgies the following first table speaks; for the *second*, the following second table. Yea, how free they felt themselves in connection with a decided unity in doctrine, even the liturgies of the *first* class and first table show satisfactorily. The position of the Creed (Ott Heinr., 1556), of the Agnus (Braun-schw.-Wolfenb., 1543; Erich, 1542), of the Lord's Prayer, Consecration, General Confession, Exhortation and the Sanctus (Pfalzgr. Ludw., 1577), varies. The *Preface* is frequently omitted; often it is used only at festivals. The

Gospel (cf. Hohenlohe, 1688, Wild u. Rheingr, 1693, but also already Pfalzgr. Ludw., 1577, Ulm, 1656; in another way Veit Dietr., Rothenb., 1668, etc.). Yea, even the distribution words of the consecrated elements in the Supper (Schleswig-Holst., 1542; Wolfenbüttel, 1545) were here and there omitted.”*

The second table, to which Löhe alludes, contains the liturgies of Baden (1556), Andorff (1567), Hanau (1573), Worms (1582), Strassburg (1598), Hohenlohe (1688). From this table we transcribe the Baden and Worms.

BADEN, 1556.

WORMS, 1582.

Nun bitten wir, etc., od. deutscher	
Psalm	Litanei des chors.
Predigt mit Anhang vom Gebrauch	
des Sacraments	Auf der Kanzel: 3 Collecten, die erste um Vergebung der Sünden.
Credo	Nun bitten wir, etc., oder Festlied.
Vermahnung	Predigt.
Gebet.	
Gemeine Beichte	Gemein Gebet mit Fürbitten.
Vater unser	Vater unser.
	Vermahnung.
Consecration	Offene Beichte.
	Absolution.
	Ermahnung.
	Consecration.
Austheilung, Während welcher man	
singt: Gott sei gelobet, etc.....	Austheilung, Während welcher Gesang und Zum Schlus das Danksagen wir alle, etc.
Jesus Christ, unser, etc.	
Gebet	Gebet.
Segen	Segen.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Lutheran liturgies remained essentially as they had been in the two preceding centuries. But in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Aufklärungs periode) worship as well as theology was influenced by the philosophy of the times. Clausen thus describes the effect of the period on worship: “At a time like the close of the eighteenth century, when the Kant-

* Sammlung, Drittes Heft, pp. 29, 30.

ian philosophy had the ascendancy in all spiritual matters, when the understanding asserted undue preponderance over the imagination, and reflection over feeling, the liturgy had to enter into as perverted a relation to dogmatics as poetry to logic, and in all the services of the Church, the liturgical spirit had to suffer under the anti-poetical spirit. The work of revision was content with scarcely less than a new creation, for men were blind to the excellences of the old liturgies as well as to their defects. The good was rejected with the bad (*mit dem schlechten*); the poetic buskin was exchanged for the prosaic sock; the rhythmic elegance was resolved into the construction of diffuse periods, and the liturgical swing was everywhere sacrificed." (Quoted in Daniel's Codex, Lib. II., p. 163.)

But the nineteenth century has witnessed a revival of churchly spirit in Germany, and has led to the restoration in the main of the historic usages of the Church. In northern and central Germany the liturgies exhibit about the fullness and form of those of the second class in this chapter, but there is no uniformity of practice. In southwestern Germany the ancient simplicity still prevails.

CHAPTER X.

ANALYSIS AND EXPOSITION OF THE LUTHERAN CHIEF SERVICE.

KLIEFOTH "gives an exhibition of the Christmas Communion Service as contained in the revised Mecklenburg order of 1602." * He regards this order as representative of the Lutheran orders, and as holding a middle ground among the orders of the *extreme* type. We translate in full as follows:

CHRISTMAS SERVICE AS HELD IN CITIES ACCORDING TO THE MECKLENBURG REVISED ORDER.

Choir: Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor. He shall declare unto you great joy which shall be unto all people; for unto you a Saviour is born to-day who is Christ the Lord. Sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvelous things!

Choir and Congregation: Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Choir and Congregation sing the Kyrie.

Preacher: Glory be to God on high!

Choir and Congregation sing the hymn, "To God alone on high be glory."

Preacher: The Lord be with you.

Choir: And with thy spirit.

Preacher: Help, dear Lord God, that we may be and abide partakers of the new human birth of thy Son, and may be

* Die Ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung, pp. 145, 252-4.

delivered from our old sinful birth through the same thy Son Jesus Christ.

Choir and Congregation: Amen.

Preacher reads the Epistle, Isa. ix. 2-7.

Choir and Congregation sing the hymn, "Blessed be Thou, Jesus Christ."

Preacher reads the Gospel, Luke ii. 1-14.

Preacher: I believe in one God alone.

Choir and congregation sing the hymn, "We all believe in one God." (Wir glauben all an einen Gott.)

Sermon, which closes with general prayer.

The Choir and Congregation sing the hymn, "A little Child so lovely."

Preacher: The Lord be with you!

Choir: And with thy spirit!

Preacher: Lift up your hearts on high!

Choir: We lift them up unto the Lord.

Preacher: Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God!

Choir: It is meet and right so to do.

Preacher: It is truly meet, right and salutary that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Everlasting God, for by the mystery of the incarnate Word, the new light of thy glory has shined unto the eyes of our mind, so that, by knowing God visibly, we may come to the knowledge of the invisible God. Therefore, with angels and archangels, and with all the heavenly host, we sing the praise of thy glory, evermore saying:

Choir and Congregation sing the German Sanctus.

Preacher reads the Exhortation to communicants.

Preacher chants the Lord's Prayer.

Choir and Congregation: Amen.

Preacher chants the words of institution.

COMMUNION, during which the

Choir and Congregation, according to the number of communicants, sing one or more communion hymns; yet at the close of the communion

Choir and Congregation sing "Christ, Thou Lamb of God."

Preacher: Thank the Lord, for he is good.

Choir: And his mercy endureth forever.

Preacher: We thank thee, Almighty Lord God, that thou hast refreshed us by these salutary gifts of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, thy Son our Lord.

Choir and Congregation: Amen.

Preacher: The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

Choir and Congregation: Amen.

Choir and congregation at the close: "Keep us, Lord, by thy word," or "Grant us peace graciously."

As this is the communion service for one of the chief festivals of the Church year, it is full and elaborate, quite beyond the average of Lutheran services, as will appear by comparing it with the Brandenburg-Nuremberg, Saxon, and other standard liturgies given in a preceding chapter. But the full and detailed form in which this service is given will aid the reader to understand the following analysis and exposition.

The Lutheran Chief Divine Service (Haupt Gottesdienst) is divided into two distinct general parts: *The Word Group*, or *Homiletical Part*; and the *Eucharist*, or *Sacramental Part*. These general parts are subdivided each into three sections.

A. THE FIRST CHIEF PART.

THE WORD GROUP.

I. SECTION.

INTROIT. KYRIE. GLORIA.

I. *The Introit or Opening Hymn.*

The first section of the first chief part begins with the Introit, or a suitable opening hymn. Sometimes this is preceded by the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, or the German *Kom, Heiliger Geist*, or the *Benedictus* (Luke i. 68), the *Te Deum*, or, in a few cases, by the *Confiteor*, that is, the ministerial Confession and formal Absolution. But these parts do not belong to the typical Lutheran service. They have been prefixed to the chief service in a few cases for the purpose of introducing it. The *Confiteor* is a remnant of the *Preparatio ad Missam*.*

The canonical Introit, complete according to its historical form, consists of the (Scripture) verse, the (Psalm) verse, and the *Gloria Patri*. But instead of the Introit very frequently the chief service opens with a spiritual hymn or German Psalm. This is very generally the order where there is no trained choir and when there is no communion. The office of the Introit is to introduce the blessings of the day and to give direction to the service that follows. One single Introit generally served for the Advent season, and one for each of the chief festivals. The principle seems to have been that it is better to have the people learn a few

* "The first group of the first chief part (Word-Act) consists of the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria. In the '*Ordninge der Misse*' and the *Kirchenordnung* of 1552 this was preceded by the *Preparatio ad Missam*, retained from the Roman Missal, and consisting of an act of Confession and Absolution performed by the priest and the assistants, introduced by the Adjutorium—'Our help is in the name of the Lord' (Ps. cxxiv. 8), to which the people listened while engaged in silent prayer. Rightly do the majority of Lutheran liturgies and the Revised Order of 1602 set aside this *Preparatio ad Missam* and begin the divine service with the Introit." Bachmann's *Der Lit. Aufbau*, page 12.

Introits than to be confused by many. The Kirchengesänge, in which the entire service is set to music (the Spangenberg and Zweibrücken, for instance), show conclusively that the *Benedictus*, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and other hymns and Psalms, were quite generally used *instead* of the Introit, and that as a matter of fact only a *very small number* of the canonical Introits were used in the Lutheran service.

The *Gloria Patri* has been traced to Isa. vi. 3 and Luke ii. 14. Its trinitarian form is traceable to the baptismal formula in Matt. xxviii. 19. Clement of Alexandria refers to the use of this hymn under the form: "Giving glory to the one Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost." It was inserted in the earliest liturgies in opposition to the Arians, and has kept its place in public worship as a suitable popular confession of the doctrine of the Trinity.

2. *The Kyrie Eleison.* The Kyrie goes back to Psalm li. 3, which in the Septuagint is Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός and to Matt. xv. 25, Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε! It is the cry of the congregation to the Lord for mercy.* Kliefoth, Layriz and others regard it as essentially a confession of sin. Löhe prefers to treat it as a cry of distress. In the Roman Mass it is employed nine times; in the Lutheran liturgies, three times, thus: Kyrie Eleison, Christe Eleison, Kyrie Eleison—left untranslated both in the Roman and Lutheran services, out of reverence; it is thought, for the original Greek, and as a "sign of the universality of the Church's prayers."

3. *The Gloria in Excelsis.* "The Gloria at length gives the answer from heaven to the confessional prayer [the Kyrie] of the congregation—hence essentially that which is aimed at by the general absolution, a declaration of salvation which is appropriated by the congregation, which takes up and completes the hymn of praise begun by the liturgy." Layriz.

The Gloria in Excelsis, sometimes called "The Angelic Hymn," "The Great Doxology," "The Greater Gloria," to

* Brentz called the Kyrie an earnest, humble prayer, and thought the congregation should kneel while it is sung.

distinguish it from the *Gloria Patri*, is founded on Luke ii. 14. Telesphorus, Roman Bishop, 125-135 A. D., introduced into the Christmas-night Communion service the words: "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." It is quoted by Athanasius in his treatise on Virginitv, but is thought to have been brought to about its present form by Hilary of Poitiers. "Symmachus, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 500, definitely appropriated the angelic hymn to its present use in the eucharistic thanksgiving, placing it at the beginning of the Communion office" (Blunt). At first the Lutheran Church retained it in the Latin form, the minister chanting *Gloria in Excelsis*; the choir and people, *Et in terra*, etc., whence the hymn is often called the *Et in Terra*. Later the Latin form was generally supplanted by the German hymn, "*Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehre*." Some of the old liturgies order that it "shall be sung sometimes in Latin and sometimes in German."

"The purpose of this first section is to prepare the congregation for the gift of the Word of God. And this it does, in that as soon as the fact of the day is made known, it offers its confession as over against it, and then comforts itself with the greatness of the merciful God" (Kliefoth).

II. SECTION.

SALUTATION. COLLECT. EPISTLE. HYMN. GOSPEL.

1. *The Salutation*. The salutation, "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," is omitted from both of Luther's liturgies, and frequently from other liturgies of northern and central Germany, and generally from those of south and southwestern Germany. When used it is intended to be a sign and token of the communion and peace which exist between believers, and introduces the collect.

2. *The Collect*. "A prayer in which the leading specialty of a public service is collected into a few terse sentences." (Lee's Glossary.) Or: "It has the name collect either because said when the people are congregated and collected together, or because it is collected in compendious brevity

from select words of Holy Scripture and the Church.” * Very many of the collects were composed by Gelasius and Gregory the Great, and as used in the Roman Mass are called *Orationes Missales*. The office of the collect at this place in the Lutheran service is to invoke the divine blessing on the Word which is about to be read. It opens with a direct address to God, contains but a single period and a single petition, which is made through the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ The Lutheran Church retained in her most ancient liturgies the custom of praying a collect *de tempore* before the Epistle. She arranged festival collects for the first half of the Church year, but made no provision for the second half, except to leave it to the ministers to select one of the common collects according to the character of the Sunday ” (Löhe’s Liturgy, p. 11).

Luther retained only one collect in each of his liturgies. The Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) has fifteen common collects, and one each for the festivals of Christmas, Passion of Christ, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, Trinity; one for the coming of God’s kingdom, one for the doing of God’s will, two *Pro Pace*. The Saxon (1539) has six common collects, and seven special, including two alternatives, for five festivals—thirteen in all. The Mecklenburg (1552-1554) and the Wittenberg (1559) have six common and seven festival collects. The Lüneburg (1564) fifteen all told, five of which are alternatives. And so the standard liturgies generally. Only in the Austrian (1571), “ which closely follows the Roman Mass,” do we find a separate collect for each Sunday and festival of the Church year.

3. *The Epistle*. The Epistle is the Christian law, and corresponds to the section of the Mosaic law read in the service of the Jewish synagogue. The rubrics generally announce the Epistle in the most simple manner, saying with the Brandenburg-Nuremberg: “ Beloved, hear attentively

* Daniel, Cod. Lit., I. p. 26.

the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans;" or as in the Brunswick (1528): "Thus writes St. Paul to the Romans in the tenth chapter;" or still more briefly as in the Saxon (1539), and many others, which merely indicate that the Epistle or an Epistle is to be read. Luther wrote: "The person who selected the Epistles seems to have been a remarkably unlearned and superstitious friend of works, since duty required that those should be selected in greater measure whereby faith in Christ is taught." He probably did not fully appreciate its relation as law, though in its Christian form, to the Gospel which is soon to follow.

4. *Hymn (Zwischengesang)*. This is the joyful response of the congregation to the Epistle. Here the greatest variety of usage prevails, as between a Hallelujah, a gradual, a sequence, a Psalm or a hymn.

We note the usage of standard liturgies: The Mecklenburg (1552-1554) and the Wittenberg (1559) order a sequence or a hymn as the time may require. The Pomeranian (1568) orders a tractus, a Hallelujah with gradual; on Sunday, simply a German Psalm. The Saxon (1539) a sequence or a Psalm or a hymn. The Calenberg (1542) a Hallelujah or sequence. The Lüneburg (1564) a sequence or Hallelujah. And with equal variety the liturgies generally.

Hallelujah, hymn, Psalm, need no explanation. Tractus is so named from *traho*, *to draw*, because it is *drawn out* in slow and solemn strain. "At the time at which the Church is commemorating the Passion of our Lord this tract is *slowly* chanted in lieu of the joyous gradual" (Lee's Glossary). Gradual receives its name from the place at which it is sung, viz., on the steps of the pulpit, or possibly from the circumstance that it is sung while the deacon goes up the steps (*gradus*) to the place where the Gospel is read—the left side of the pulpit. Sequence—from *sequor*, I follow—at first a prolongation of the Alleluia which followed the Epistle; then a hymn of praise following the Epistle, in

which the leading features of a festival, or of the Lord's day, are earnestly presented.

5. *The Gospel.* The Gospel corresponds to the prophetic section in the service of the Jewish synagogue. It announces to the congregation the grace of God in the person of Christ, through whom the congregation is restored to the divine favor. The Lutheran liturgies of all classes, perhaps without a single exception, retain the Gospel at this place, and order it to be read without the "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," which preceded the reading of the Gospel in the Roman service.

The rubric here is very simple, as in the Mecklenburg and Wittenberg: "Then the priest reads the Gospel;" or still more simply, as: "Then the Gospel." But never except in the solitary case of the Pomeranian (1568) is the reading or singing of the Gospel followed by the "Glory be to thee, O Christ," as is the custom in the Roman Mass. But from the reading of the Gospel the minister passes without interruption to the *Credo*, which begins the third section of the homiletical part.

"The second section contains also the same elements as the first, namely, the proclamation of the fact of salvation, the fear of the conscience and the reconciliation, but as in a different form, so also in an inverse order. In the first section the fear of the conscience is roused by the grace of God and comes to the reconciliation in the love of God. In the second section the reconciled heart ventures its prayer, lays hold of the assuring Word of the Lord with praise and joy, and receives the message of salvation; with this also comes a point of rest: the Lord has given his Word, and it is the part of the congregation to receive it." *

III. SECTION.

CREED. SERMON. HYMN.

I. *The Creed.* "With few exceptions the confession of faith remains between the Gospel and the sermon, and has

* Kliefoth, p. 158.

the following signification: the Gospel of the day is only a single part of the entire Gospel. This part, the sermon is to explain, and the people are to receive. But only this special part of the faith is explained, and only according to the analogy of the faith. For this reason the congregation briefly recalls the entire summary of the faith. The necessary consequence is that both the preacher who explains, and the congregation which receives, must repeat the summary of the faith" (Kliefoth, p. 161).

The recitation of the Creed in the eucharistic service was begun at Antioch in 471. Its introduction into the Western Church was gradual, but the use became general. In the Roman service the priest intones: *Credo in unum Deum*, and the choir responds, *Patrem Omnipotentem*. The very same custom prevailed in many of the Lutheran liturgies. Hence, the *Patrem* means the Nicene, that is, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of the year 381. Sometimes the choir was ordered to sing the Creed in Latin, and the people to sing it afterwards in the versified form, *Wir glauben*. Sometimes only the versified form was ordered. Then the minister would intone, "Ich glaube an einen Gott allein," and the congregation would respond with "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," etc. While the congregation is singing, the minister goes into the pulpit. The versification of the Creed in the form, "Wir glauben," etc., is the work * of Luther, and has been rendered into English as follows:

1. We all believe in one true God,
 Maker of the earth and heaven,
 The Father who to us the power
 To become his sons hath given,
 He will us at all times nourish,
 Soul and body guard us, guide us,
 Mid all harms will keep and cherish,
 That no ill shall e'er betide us.
 He watches o'er us day and night;
 All things are governed by his might.

*As early as the year 1525.

2. And we believe in Jesus Christ,
 Lord and Son of God confessed,
 From everlasting days with God,
 In equal power and glory bless'd;
 By the Holy Ghost conceived,
 Born of Mary, Virgin mother,
 That to lost men who believ'd,
 He should Saviour be and brother;
 Was crucified, and from the grave
 Through God is risen, strong to save.

3. We in the Holy Ghost believe,
 Who with Son and Father reigneth,
 One true God, He, the Comforter,
 Feeble souls with gifts sustaineth.
 All his saints, in every nation,
 With one heart this faith receiving,
 From all sin obtain salvation,
 From the dust of death reviving,
 These sorrows past, there waits in store
 For us, the life forevermore.

2. *The Sermon.* The sermon is generally on the Gospel for the day. Sometimes it includes an instruction on the Lord's Supper, and some of the liturgies order that a Communion sermon shall be preached whenever the Communion is to be held. The sermon is the central point of the whole worship, either with or without Communion, since the Lutheran Church allows and holds chief divine services (*Hauptgottesdienste*) in which there is no Communion, but never those in which there is no preaching or teaching of the divine Word.

The concurrent teaching of the Lutheran liturgies on the subject of preaching is thus presented by Funk: "To the preaching of the Word by the prophets God had already joined the promise of rich blessing. By the living Word and the public teaching, Christ and his Apostles spread the Gospel. The Apostle Paul turned over the office of teaching particularly to the men whom he appointed leaders and pastors, and bound it upon them with a strict oath of conscience (2 Tim. iv.). Preaching as the audible voice of the Gospel, the same Apostle (Rom. x.) explains as the way of living

faith to the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, therefore to salvation. Hence the Evangelical Church not only brought the sermon into use again, but brought it to the highest and most important part of the worship of the congregation, to the chief place and centre." * And in a note explaining the above: "This position of the sermon in evangelical worship, as likewise the neglect of it in the papal Church, is the result of the foundation-view of the Church's faith. By means of the doctrine of satisfaction the sacrifice became established as the chief idea of the papal worship, and hence the Mass, the chief part. The foundation of the evangelical doctrine is the living faith, and since this is wrought through the preaching of the Gospel, that is the chief part of the congregational worship."

Since the sermon is central, all that has gone before points to it. With it all that follows must be in harmony.

3. *The Hymn (Predigtlied)*. In the great majority of the liturgies the Predigtlied follows the sermon immediately, and must be such as to give it a fitting conclusion. When there is no Communion, the sermon generally is followed by the litany, or a Psalm, or a hymn and the benediction. A general prayer is frequently made after the sermon.

B. THE SECOND CHIEF PART.

THE EUCHARIST.

I. SECTION.

SALUTATION. PREFACE. SANCTUS. EXHORTATION.

1. *The Salutation*.—The Salutation, "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," and the Sursum Corda—"Lift up your hearts," "We lift them up unto the Lord"—belongs essentially to the Preface, and introduces it. Hence when the Preface is omitted, as is the case in Luther's German Mass, in the liturgies of southwest Germany generally, and in many others, the Salutation and the Sursum Corda are omitted.

* Kirchenordnung, p. 73.

2. *The Preface.* By means of the Preface the minister seeks to bring out the prayers and thanksgiving of the congregation, and to begin the preparation of the heart for the celebration of the great mystery of the Holy Communion.

In very early times there was only one preface for all Sundays and festivals. The number was gradually increased in the west, and about two hundred and fifty prefaces are found in the so-called *Sacramentarium Leoninum* "in part very verbose, and more like sermons than prayers." This great number was reduced by Gregory and perhaps by others. In the twelfth century the number was reduced to ten or eleven, one for each of the chief festivals called *Proper*, and one for the other Sundays called *Common*.

This arrangement, but with the number still reduced, was preserved by those Lutheran liturgies which retained the preface. For instance in the Mecklenburg and Wittenberg series we find one common preface, and one for Nativity, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity. In very many liturgies of even the fuller and more rigid type, a rubric orders the omission of the preface when the time is short, or when the exhortation is employed. The Pomeranian directs that the preface may be said on festival days, if the time will allow. So likewise the Wittenberg (1533); but also that it may be omitted at pleasure. The Saxon permits it on festival days, or sometimes on Sunday. The directions are various, and the use of the Preface is, upon the whole, discouraged rather than encouraged.

3. *The Sanctus.* The Sanctus is properly and historically the conclusion of the Preface, and consists essentially of the Trisagion (Isa. vi. 3), the Hosanna and the Benedictus (Matt. xxi. 9). The hymn is a solemn act of adoration of the ever-blessed Trinity, and from very ancient times has been sung at the Communion by the choir and the people. In many of the old Lutheran liturgies, beginning with Luther's German Mass, it is sung during the distribution in the form beginning: "Isaiah dem Propheten, des geschah." In

the Spangenberg Kirchengesänge it is sung in this form immediately after the preface. The German Sanctus has been Englished by Dr. Massie as follows :

These things the seer Isaiah did befall :
In spirit he beheld the Lord of all,
On a high throne raised up in splendor bright,
His garment's border filled the choir with light.
Beside him stood two Seraphim which had
Six wings ; wherewith they both alike were clad.
With twain they hid their shining face, with twain
They hid their feet as with a flowing train,
And with the other twain they both did fly.
One to the other thus aloud did cry :
" Holy is God the Lord of Sabaoth
His glory filleth all the trembling earth :"
With the loud cry the posts and thresholds shook,
And the whole house was filled with mist and smoke.

4. *The Exhortation.* The object of the exhortation is to stir up the minds and hearts of the communicants, that they may approach the Lord's table with proper reverence and true faith. The form most widely used is that of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg (see above), which appeared already in Andrew Döber's Spital Mass of 1525, and has Wolfgang Volprecht as its author. The paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, with the exhortation of Luther's German Mass, was also frequently used. Other forms were used, some of which were copious and prolix. But the exhortation, however valuable and important it may be in itself, has never been regarded essential to the Communion service. It belongs properly to the preparatory service. Hence many of the old liturgies, recognizing its intrusive character, say, either in substance or literally with the Mecklenburg: "If there be time the priest may read an exhortation, or when because of the shortness of the time the exhortation and the prefation have been omitted, immediately after the sermon the priest may sing the Lord's Prayer and the words of the Testament."

II. SECTION.

LORD'S PRAYER. CONSECRATION. DISTRIBUTION.

The Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is intoned by the minister immediately after the exhortation, or where the preface and exhortation are omitted, immediately after the sermon, unless, as sometimes is the case, a hymn intervene. When the paraphrase is employed in the exhortation, as in Luther's German Mass, Spangenberg's Kirchengesänge, and in other liturgies, there is no further employment of the Lord's Prayer.*

The place of the Lord's Prayer in the Greek and Roman liturgies is after the words of institution. It cannot be regarded as consecratory of the elements, but rather as consecratory of the believers who are about to partake of the heavenly blessings.† This is especially shown from the place it holds in the Missal under the *Præparatio ad Communionem*, and in the oldest Reformation liturgies, which closely followed the Missal, as the Formula Missæ, Bugenhagen's (1524), Döber's (1525), Strassburg Kirchenamt (1524), Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) and in those which paraphrase it with the exhortation. In the Bugenhagen series, Brunswick (1528), Hamburg (1529), Lubeck (1531), Pomeranian (1535), the Mecklenburg-Wittenberg series and in many liturgies of Southwest Germany, it is placed before the consecration. Löhe says: "Why the Lord's Prayer is generally placed before the words of institution in the Evangelical Church, is not clear, since, as Calvör has shown, in early times the eucharistic prayers were said over the already consecrated elements."‡

* Except in a few liturgies in which it is ordered to be sung after the Paraphrase.

† In the First Wittenberg (1533), it is ordered: "After the hymn which is sung after the sermon, and sometimes also after the preface, as said, let the priest (minister) pray the *Lord's Prayer* for the entire congregation, and consecrate for the communicants with such singing as hereafter follows:

"Our Father . . . deliver us from evil. Ecclesia respondet. Amen."

‡ Sammlung, Drittes Heft, p. 24.

In all the extant Latin liturgies, and the Lutheran, the doxology of the Lord's Prayer is omitted. In the liturgy of St. James it is expanded into a trinitarian shape: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and forever."

2. *The Consecration.* The words of institution are the proper words of consecration. In the consecration formula of the Greek and Roman liturgies, the words of institution are interpolated, and in the Roman the important words, "Which is given for you," are omitted. The Lutheran Church uses the *verba ipsissima* of the New Testament, which are intoned by the minister immediately after the Lord's Prayer, except where the prayer comes after the *verba*, in which case the consecration follows the exhortation. In the Roman Mass the priest says the words of consecration secretly, and by the words of consecration, according to the Roman Catholic doctrine, changes the elements into the body and blood of Christ. In the Lutheran consecration the *verba* are said with a loud voice, and the object is to set apart the bread and wine to the holy use of the Supper. It is never thought that by this act Christ unites himself with the elements. Hence, the elements are not to be carried about in procession, or adored.

3. *The Distribution.* The distribution takes place immediately after the consecration, in both elements, "according to the institution of Christ and not otherwise." The men are ordered to go to the right side of the altar and the women to the left side, and to kneel. In a few instances one element is consecrated and distributed at a time. During the Communion the choir and people sing *Agnus Dei* (sometimes the Sanctus), *Gott sei gelobet*, or if the number of communicants be large, a Psalm or other hymn. These express the praise with which the congregation hails the blessed Christ who satisfies his people with living bread: The words of distribution in the different liturgies vary, but those of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg are most frequently used. Some liturgies do not prescribe any words of distribution.

III. SECTION.

POST COMMUNION.

The *Post Communion* comprises all that may follow the *Agnus Dei*, or whatever is sung during Communion. The use is exceedingly varied. "By far the greater number of the liturgies have here, according to our scheme, the versicle, the thanksgiving collect (which is called the Post Communion), the benediction and the final hymn. The versicles indicated in the appendix are, without exception, those appointed by the liturgies for all the days of worship. The following variations are noted: some important liturgies have before the versicle also the salutation. It comes not only before the versicle, but also before the benediction. The versicle is wanting in many liturgies. In a very few the salutation, the versicle and the collect are omitted, and the congregation sings instead, *Nun danket Alle Gott*, whereupon follows the benediction. On the contrary a few others omit the benediction, and instruct the congregation to sing: 'Es wolle Gott uns gnädig sein.' It seldom happens that this whole section consists only of the benediction and the final hymn. A few more have between the collect and the benediction, the *Benedicamus*, that is, the minister intones *Benedicamus Domino*, and the choir responds, *Deo dicamus Gracias*.'" *

Still further the liturgies are divided into two classes in such a way that one class now closes with the benediction and the other adds yet the *Da Pacem*. This last part is thanksgiving in its nature. It is based on the example of Christ, who sang a Psalm of praise at the close of the first Holy Supper. The collect gives thanks for the salutary gifts of the body and blood of Christ, and prays that they may be a means of increasing faith towards fellow-Christians. In a word, it brings out the two essential ideas of the sacrament: it is a means of grace and communion of saints.

The *Benediction* is an invocation for health of body and peace of soul, and for final deliverance from sin and death

* Kliefoth, pp. 168-9.

and hell. The *Da Pacem* (when used) prays for peace and protection in time of peril.

The *Da Pacem*, German, “ Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich,” has been rendered into English as follows :

In these days so perilous,
Lord, peace in mercy send us ;
No God but thee can fight for us,
No God but thee defend us ;
Thou our only God and Saviour.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MORNING AND EVENING SERVICES.

A VERY small amount of space is left in which to treat the morning and evening services of the Church. The Apostolic Constitutions, Book VIII., present directions and, in part at least, forms for these services in the ancient Church of the East. Both services were introduced by the recitation of a Psalm. The sixty-third, beginning, "Oh, God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee," was the morning Psalm, and the one hundred and forty-first, beginning, "Lord, I cry unto thee: make haste unto me," was the evening Psalm. In both services the recitation of these Psalms was followed by the prayers for the catechumens, the energumens and the candidates for baptism. "But after the dismissal of these, the deacon shall say: So many as are of the faithful, let us pray to the Lord. And after the bidding prayer, which is formerly set down, he shall say:

THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THE EVENING.

"Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy Christ. Let us stand up, and beg for the mercies of the Lord, and his compassions, for the angel of peace, for what things are good and profitable, for a Christian departure out of this life, an evening and a night of peace, and free from sin; and let us beg that the whole course of our life may be unblamable. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:

THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE EVENING.

"O God, who art without beginning," etc.

When the thanksgiving prayer was ended, the deacon

said: "Depart in peace." "In like manner, in the morning, after the repetition of the morning Psalm, and his dismissal of the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for baptism and the penitents, and after the usual bidding of prayers, that we may not again repeat the same things, let the deacon add after the words, Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy grace: Let us beg of the Lord his mercies and compassions, that this morning and this day may be with peace and without sin, as also all the time of our sojourning; that he will grant us his angel of peace, a Christian departure out of this life, and that God will be merciful and gracious. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through his only-begotten. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say:

THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE MORNING.

"O God, the God of Spirits," etc.

In the morning the bishop added yet the benediction with the imposition of hands. The worshipers were then dismissed by the deacon with the words: "Depart in peace." *

Through Theodoret we learn that as early as the time of Athanasius it was customary in the East to have alternate verses of the Psalm intoned by different choirs. This same practice was introduced at Milan by Ambrose († 397). As early as the sixth century hymns were added to the daily service in the West, with lections from the fathers, and Psalms and responsories for the different feasts. This was the origin of the Breviary, or book of daily worship in the Roman Catholic Church, which was completed from Gregory VII. to Paul V., and, revised by order of the Council of Trent, was made obligatory upon the entire Roman Catholic Church, except where a prescription of two hundred years could be alleged in favor of some special Breviary.

Löhe has arranged the following scheme for the matins and vespers of the Breviary:

* Apost. Constitutions, Book VIII., Sec. 4.

MATINS.

VESPERS.

Pater Noster	Pater Noster.
Ave Maria	Ave Maria.
Credo.	
Domine, labia, etc.....	Deus in adjutorium, etc.
Deus in adjutorium.	
Gloria.	
Invitatorium	Psalmody.
Ps. 95.	
Gloria Invitatorium.	
Hymnus	Capitulum.
Psalmody	Hymnus.
Lectio	Magnificat.
Te Deum.....	Oratio.
Oratio.	

Luther's directions for the weekday services are given in the "Order of Divine Service in the Congregation," found in a previous chapter, and his directions for the Sunday morning and evening services are contained in the German Mass. As in the Communion service, so in the morning and evening services, Luther's directions were generally followed by the Church orders of Germany composed in the sixteenth century. These services can be best understood by being seen in their full text. We translate from representative liturgies.

MORNING SERVICE.

1. *From the Saxon, 1539.* In the morning the scholars shall sing one or two or three Psalms as at matins, with an antiphon of the Lord's day or festival, closing with a collect.

2. *From the Waldeck, 1556.* The Veni Sancte, Invitatory and Venite, antiphon, with Psalms for the day, lection and responsory (on festivals, three), Te Deum, Benedictus, with antiphon, collect, Benedicamus.

3. *From the Wittenberg, 1559.* In the morning the scholars shall sing a Psalm, or two or three, as at matins, with the antiphon of the Lord's day, or festival. Then a boy reads a lection from the Old Testament in Latin, and another boy one in German. Then the Benedictus is sung

in German or Latin. Sometimes the *Te Deum Laudamus*, in German or Latin. Close with an antiphon and collect.

EVENING SERVICE.

1. *From the Saxon Visitation Articles, 1533.* The school-master and the scholars sing a Psalm. Then a boy reads a passage from the Old Testament, first in Latin; then another boy one in German. Then a hymn is sung, followed by the Magnificat, and finally the collect. If there be preaching on Sunday, or other festivals during vespers, the Magnificat is sung before the sermon.

2. *From the Hamburg, 1539.* Antiphon, Psalm. Lecture of the Epistle, Latin and German. Sometimes a responsory. Hymn or Psalm. Magnificat and *Nunc Dimittis*, German or Latin. Kyrie. Lord's Prayer. Verse. Collect. *Benedicamus*.

3. *From the Württemberg, 1553.* In the cities the scholars shall sing at vespers some Latin Psalms, with a Latin antiphon; then the minister shall read to the people, in German, a chapter of Scripture from the Old and New Testaments, with their summaries. After the reading of the Scripture sing the German Magnificat or another Christian hymn. Close with a common prayer and the benediction.

These examples, taken almost at random from the *Kirchenordnungen* of the sixteenth century, furnish a very complete exhibition of the historical morning and evening service of the Lutheran Church. There is general agreement, but individual differences, an illustration of what Hengstenberg calls "German unanimity." Sometimes we find the *Gloria Patri*; sometimes the Athanasian Creed: occasionally the *Da Pacem*.

It remains only to say that an antiphon is a verse or part of a verse of Scripture, appropriate to the day, sung after a Psalm. For instance: If the eighth Psalm were sung on the day of Annunciation, then Luke i. 26, 27, was sung as the antiphon; that an invitatory is a Psalm or part of a Psalm which invites to prayer and praise.

The ninety-fifth is the old invitatory Psalm; that a responsory is a versicle and response sung after the lessons as,
O Lord, show us thy mercy :

Response: Thanks be to thee, O Lord.

That the *Magnificat* is the hymn of Mary, Luke i. 46, et seq., and the *Nunc Dimittis* is the song of Simeon, Luke ii. 29, et seq., that the *Benedicamus* consists of the versicle and response :

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

Response: Thanks be unto the Lord.

Note.—It will be observed that these services seldom provide for preaching. They were intended chiefly as services of reading and song, and were conducted oftener by the schoolmaster or the scholars belonging to the Church school than by the pastor. Frequently, however, the pastor conducted a Catechism service in the afternoon, in which he took up and explained the Catechism, part after part.

CHAPTER XII.

WORSHIP IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

IN this chapter it is proposed to consider the principles of worship in those parts of the Protestant world which did not come immediately under the influence of Luther, but owed their origin and development to other reformers. The term Reformed churches is used to denote the Protestant churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland and England. Among the reformers who exerted a strong formative influence upon these churches were Zwingli, Knox, Cranmer, and above all Calvin, whose logical mind and clear expression have earned for him the title of "theologian of the Reformation."

In regard to what may be called the fundamental principles of Protestantism, there was striking harmony between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. All alike accepted the Scriptures as the supreme rule of doctrine, and taught justification by faith alone. They agreed in rejecting and condemning the Roman Catholic doctrines concerning the Church, priesthood and sacraments. They found the same necessity for a renovation of worship. They considered the Church, not as an outward organization under the pope as "vicegerent of Christ," but as essentially a spiritual brotherhood, the collective body of those united to their divine Head by faith. In harmony with the Augsburg Confession, the First Helvetic Confession, prepared in 1536, and embodying the faith of all the reformed cantons of Switzerland, calls the Church "the congregation and assembly of all saints." The French Confession of Faith of 1559 declares that the true Church "is the company of the faithful who agree to follow his Word, and the pure religion which it

teaches." The Westminster Confession says, "The catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are or shall be gathered in one, under Christ the head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." Thus the Reformed creeds, in agreement with the Lutheran Confession, make the Church essentially an invisible body united under Christ as head—the congregation of saints—which becomes visible, not through an outward organization under a single human head, but through the administration of the Word and sacraments according to the Gospel.

The great end of the Gospel is to enlarge the congregation of saints—to build up the kingdom of Christ in the world. This end is accomplished when men believe that they are "justified freely for Christ's sake through faith." This faith is imputed for righteousness; it brings, through the power of the Spirit, a change of heart; it places the soul in fundamental harmony with the divine nature; it manifests itself in love, holiness and obedience. For the proclamation of the Gospel, which thus by faith leads into the kingdom of God, the office of the ministry was instituted. Its chief function is not, as in the Roman Church, to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead, but to bring the Gospel into effectual relation with the souls of men. The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England characterize the ministry as "the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments," and the Westminster Confession points out the chief function of this office in designating it "the ministry of the Word." This is in perfect harmony with the Augsburg Confession, which, after treating of justification by faith, continues: "For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel was instituted." Thus the Reformed churches, in common with the Lutheran Church, look upon the ministry as constituting, not a sacerdotal caste mediating between God and man, but a teaching body for the edification of the kingdom of Christ through the preaching of the

Word and the administering of the sacraments. They do not "give the forgiveness of sins," but simply announce forgiveness on the conditions set forth in the Gospel. Christ is the only mediator between God and men; and all believers, as kings and priests, have immediate access to the Father through him. In the Reformed churches, as in the Lutheran Church, the preaching of the Word, which had fallen into the background through the sacerdotal system of the Roman Church, was restored to its proper place in worship.

The Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, which lies at the basis of the Mass, was looked upon with abhorrence by all the reformers. While they did not agree when they came to make a positive statement of the nature of the Lord's Supper, they unanimously agreed in rejecting and condemning transubstantiation. The Roman Mass was no greater abomination to Luther than to Calvin and Knox. The reason of this condemnation is not far to seek. As a sacrifice for sin, effective *ex opere operato*, it is fundamentally opposed to the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith. In harmony with their conception of the Church, the reformers without exception agreed in regarding the sacraments as a means of edifying the body of believers. In full accord with the Augsburg Confession, the Westminster Confession says: "Sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted of God, to represent Christ and his benefits, and to confirm our interest in him: as also to put a visible difference between those that belong to the Church and the rest of the world; and solemnly to engage them to the service of God in Christ, according to his Word."

The Reformed churches, like the Lutheran Church, recognized the objective and subjective elements in worship. The only difference, as we shall presently see, was in the emphasis placed on the two parts. The Reformed churches, in opposition to the mechanical theory of the Roman Catholic Church, place the efficacy of worship in its ethical and spirit-

ual effects upon the human heart. This requires, on the one hand, the presentation of divine truth in the Word and sacraments, and, on the other, receptive faith on the part of the worshiper. True worship consists, not in the performance of a ritualistic act, but in the love, adoration and obedience of the heart, which thus joyfully responds to the declarations of grace contained in the Gospel. "These two fundamental principles," says Kœstlin, "that of subjective truth, according to which worship is constituted, not so much by an express divine appointment, as much rather by the activity of the believing subject; and that of objective truth, according to which worship should be nothing else than a genuine expression and bearer of the evangelical declaration of salvation—these principles are common to all evangelical churches." *

Rejecting, in opposition to the Roman Church, the authority of tradition, and making the Scriptures alone the rule of faith and practice, the Reformed churches made the Word prominent in worship. The Westminster Confession says: "The reading of the Scriptures with godly fear; the sound preaching and conscionable hearing of the Word, in obedience unto God with understanding, faith and reverence; singing of Psalms with grace in the heart; as, also, the due administration of the sacraments instituted by Christ, are all parts of the ordinary religious worship of God." This strong emphasizing of the Gospel leads naturally to the setting up of a clear distinction between the institutions of God and the ordinances of man. The Word and the sacraments are essential in worship; the ceremonies of man's appointment are not essential. Ceremonies may be used so far as they are helpful and edifying in worship; but they can have no binding authority upon the conscience. "Inward truth alone," says Calvin, "is what the Lord requires. Exercises superadded are to be approved, so far as they are subservient to truth, useful incitements, or marks of profession to attest

* Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes, p. 143.

our faith to men. Nor do we reject things tending to the preservation of order and discipline. But when consciences are put under fetters, and bound by religious obligations, in which God willed them to be free, then we must boldly protest, in order that the worship of God be not vitiated by human fictions.” *

The Reformed churches, in harmony with the Lutheran Church, maintain freedom touching human ordinances and traditions. This results inevitably from the fundamental principle of Protestantism, which makes the Scriptures the supreme authority in religious faith and practice. Ecclesiastical ceremonies are only a means of promoting the edification of the Church; and, as such, they may be changed according to times and circumstances. It is not necessary to the unity of the Church that the same ceremonies prevail everywhere. The fixed character of Roman Catholic ceremonies, however beautiful in the abstract, is a serious fault, inasmuch as it ignores the principle of adaptation. The Thirty-nine Articles are in agreement with the Lutheran Confessions in declaring that “It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word.” In accordance with this principle of freedom, the Reformed Church, like the Lutheran Church, produced a number of different liturgies, among which are those of Zwingli, Calvin, Knox and Cranmer.

The Protestant principle of the universal priesthood of Christians, which is directly opposed to the Roman doctrine of a sacerdotal caste, makes worship an act of the congregation. In the Reformed, as well as in the Lutheran Church, worship is not an act of the minister alone, but of the congregation. It is conducted in the native tongue. The congregation give reverent and attentive heed to the reading

* Eutaxia, p. 13, where it is quoted.

and preaching of the Word; in prayer they lift their hearts in thanksgiving, and praise, and supplication; in Psalms and hymns they raise their voices in harmonious accord, glorifying the Triune God. With the view of promoting congregational worship, the psalmody of the Church was enriched. Calvin engaged the French poet Marot and Theodore Beza to make a metrical version of the Psalms, which was extensively used.

But while the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches have a general agreement in holding the fundamental principles of Protestantism, and hence constitute co-ordinate parts of the historic movement known as the Reformation, they possess, at the same time, distinguishing peculiarities, which are reflected in their forms of worship. "Their unity consisted," says Dorner, in speaking of the beginning of the two branches of the reformatory movement, "not merely in a common antagonism to Rome, but also in an essential positive agreement upon those weightiest and fundamental tenets of the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures and the free grace of God in Christ." * The differences in worship that arose between the two Protestant bodies consisted chiefly in their application of these fundamental principles. It may be considered as true in a general way that the Lutheran Reformation, as a result of the German Reformer's personal experience, laid more stress on the *material* principle, while the Reformed Church, arising more immediately from a study of the Scriptures without deep spiritual conflicts, gave greater prominence to the *formal* principle. According to Ebrard, the Lutheran Church was chiefly opposed to the Judaism of Rome, and the Reformed Church to its heathenism. "With entire agreement in their opposition to the unscriptural elements in Catholicism," says Alt, "Zwingli and Calvin nevertheless differ from Luther in one point which was very important in the transformation of the ecclesiastical organization and worship. Luther had become a re-

* History of Protestant Theology, Vol. I., p. 282.

former through the establishment of the doctrine of justification by faith in the free grace of God in Christ, and his struggles with the Catholic Church were really only a contention for this doctrine. Hence, on the one hand, he firmly rejected everything that was in any way contradictory thereto, such as the sacrifice of the Mass, Mariolatry, the worship of saints, and everything that the Church enjoined or praised as good works, and as works necessary or helpful to salvation. But, on the other hand, he unhesitatingly allowed everything to remain which was reconcilable with this doctrine; ancient and venerable customs, so far as they contained nothing superstitious or erroneous, he retained. Thus many of the old forms of worship, and even the papal government of the Church, he would have allowed to remain, if the pope would have consented to the doctrine of justification through faith alone. It was otherwise with Zwingli and Calvin. Through a diligent study of Holy Scripture, they had thoroughly familiarized themselves with the age of primitive Christianity; the Apostolic Church with its touching and unadorned simplicity had become clearer to their eyes, and they were convinced that the Church could be thoroughly helped only when it became internally, as well as externally, what it was at that time." * In a general way these observations are just, as indicating the tendency of the two churches. The Reformed Church was less conservative of ancient usages. Its churches were audience chambers; its altars became Communion tables; statuary, painting and instrumental music were abolished. The Church year was regarded as unimportant, and the pericopes were not made binding upon the ministry. Sunday received especial emphasis as a day of worship. Yet the leading festivals of the Church year were also observed. The Church Order of Basel of 1529 prescribed the observance of Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. "Many festival days," it says, "are not to be praised." The Church Order of Ulm

* *Christlicher Cultus*, p. 271.

says: "Since most of the festivals have served only for superstition and wantonness, they are to be abolished. Yet the preachers on the days observed in memory of the Lord, the Apostles and martyrs, shall so discourse of them that the congregation may be edified, and superstition removed from the heart. But Sunday, which alone is celebrated, shall be spent in hearing the divine Word, prayer, and other Christian works." Its liturgies were not renovations of the Mass, but in large measure independent productions.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the Reformed Church is necessarily opposed to liturgical forms. Neither Zwingli, nor Calvin, nor Knox believed it necessary to return to Apostolic simplicity. They recognized the lawfulness of using forms of human devising in so far as they were conformable to truth and helpful to edification, and as a matter of fact all these reformers composed liturgies of considerable fullness. The fact that they fell into disuse in some parts of the Church was due, not so much to the inherent tendency of the Church, as to the outward circumstances of its history. "More than any other Church," says Kœstlin, "the Reformed Church had to bear the cross. Under the heavy storms of persecution which it had to pass through, it felt itself thrown back exclusively on the Word of God as the only foundation and source of its existence, and the long, hot period of trial, in which it struggled for mere existence, caused it to look on all matters as subordinate which did not directly condition the continuance of its faith and life. No wonder that it became indifferent and even indisposed to ceremonies, to outward decoration and constitution of worship, and at last restricted itself to the scantiest reproduction of the edifying forms based upon Holy Scripture and going back to the institution of Jesus. The feeling against everything Romish was sharpened by persecution; in liturgical richness, variety of forms and ceremonies, outward decoration and splendor, one scented a Romanizing leaven, against the entrance of which only a rigid, puritanical simplicity and

restriction to what is directly given and commanded in Holy Scripture, could afford protection." *

There is another general difference in tendency between the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches, which affects worship in a noticeable degree. Stahl expresses it thus: "In the Lutheran Church there is a tendency rather to contemplation, in the Reformed Church to legality." Schneckenburger puts it in this form: "In the Reformed Church the active momenta predominate, in the Lutheran the reposing consciousness as a state." Dorner traces this difference to the experience and teaching of the German and the Swiss reformer: "Luther lingered rather in the inward sphere of the self-consciousness as renewed by God, in which man knows himself to be a child of God. It is accordingly the moral element in its absolute reference which he emphasizes, whilst Zwingli, on the other hand, lays stress rather upon man's being there to increase the glory of God upon earth, which is done by the fulfillment of his will and by a purifying conformation of life and of the community."† Hence it happened that the Lutheran Church developed the science of theology, and the Reformed Church the science of morals. In worship the Lutheran Church lays stress on the divine element, and the Reformed Church on the human element. This is regarded by Alt as the characteristic distinction between the two churches. "The essential difference," he says, "between the Lutheran and the Reformed worship cannot be more briefly and more strikingly indicated than when with Kliefoth we emphasize as chief characteristic with the former the *sacramental* element, and with the latter the *sacrificial*. But these terms should be understood as only expressing what is commonly designated by the words *objective* and *subjective*."‡

In this discussion it has been deemed best to treat only of clear and demonstrable facts. Theologians are still divided

* Geschichte des Christ. Gottesdienstes, p. 197.

† History of Protestant Theology, Vol. I., p. 295.

‡ Christlicher Cultus, p. 302.

in regard to what constitutes the essential difference between the two branches of Protestantism. In seeking these distinctions there is danger of running out into trifling and subtle refinements. In view of existing dangers, to say nothing of the true Christian spirit, our effort should be, not needlessly to exaggerate differences, and thus produce hostile antagonisms within the body of Protestantism, but to emphasize the essential unity of this great historic movement, and thus strengthen it against Romanism and unbelief. In the great fundamental principles of worship the Reformed churches are in substantial harmony with the Lutheran Church; and their divergence pertains chiefly to two points: 1. They are less conservative than the Lutheran Church; and 2. They emphasize the subjective, rather than the objective element of worship.

CHAPTER XIII.

FORMS OF WORSHIP IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

1. ZWINGLI, the Swiss reformer, was born in 1484. He displayed great eagerness and aptitude in learning; and at the universities of Vienna and Basel, he achieved distinction as a scholar. At first he gave himself ardently to the study of the ancient classics, the literary treasures of which had but recently been brought to light; but literature alone did not satisfy the deepest wants of his nature, and he sometimes complained at this period that so many persons studied heathen poets rather than Christ and Paul.

In 1506 he was elected pastor at Glarus. He there studied, in connection with the Latin classics, the Church fathers and scholastic theology, but was gradually led to a clearer understanding and higher appreciation of the Scriptures. He studied the original tongues; he transcribed the Epistles of Paul with his own hand, and studied them so diligently that he knew them by heart. He discerned many of the evil practices of the Roman Church; and he preached earnestly against the corrupt manners of the time. "Let us believe and obey," he said, "what is revealed to us in the Word of God. Whatsoever is not found in it must be regarded as superfluous; and whatsoever is against it, as erroneous and untrue." Thus, while still a priest of the Roman Church, and an adherent to the pope, he was in fact an evangelical preacher, whose teaching was subsequently to lead to a reformation.

In 1516, he removed to Einsiedeln. It was a place of resort for pilgrims, who came from all parts of Switzerland, Alsace and Southern Germany to see the image of the Virgin and child, which had been preserved there for many cen-

turies. It was Zwingli's duty to preach to the superstitious throngs; and he was expected to confirm their faith in the miraculous power of the image. Faithful to his convictions acquired through a study of the New Testament, he boldly proclaimed that remission of sins and eternal life were to be sought, not from the Virgin, but from Christ; that pilgrimages, vows and gifts possessed no efficacy; that God's grace and help were as free elsewhere as at Einsiedeln; and that since there is no purgatory, Masses for the dead were useless. Such preaching naturally produced a sensation; and when the prior of the monastery remonstrated, Zwingli, with the martyr spirit, replied: "Once for all, we must determine to cling inseparably to right, truth and God, though with the loss of property and life. Once for all, we must venture, and expose ourselves to the danger of death for the truth, and to confirm the mind against all the attacks of the flesh, the world and the devil." As a result of Zwingli's labors, pilgrimages became less frequent, and the image of the Virgin, so long an object of worship, was removed and buried.

Whether Zwingli derived his reformatory impulse from Luther is a disputed question. But the facts seem to show that the Swiss reformation had an independent beginning. Zwingli had begun his evangelical preaching in 1516—a year before Luther nailed the Ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenberg, and it was not till two years later that he became acquainted with the writings of the Saxon reformer. Zwingli, like Luther, was led to a knowledge of the truth through a careful study of the Scriptures. Or in the words of Dorner, "It was through Paul that Luther and he had come, independently of each other, to the same knowledge." * Zwingli himself says: "The papists heap such names upon me and others from folly; they say, you must be a Lutheran, you preach just as Luther writes. I answer them, I preach quite as much as Paul wrote; why do you not rather receive me as an adherent of Paul? Yea, I

* Hist. of Prot. Theol., Vol. I., p. 304.

preach the word of Christ; wherefore do ye not receive me as a Christian? Thus it is nothing but nonsense. Luther is, as seems to me, an excellent champion for God, who has searched the meaning of Scripture with greater earnestness than any one on earth has done for a thousand years: and no one has equaled him in the manly, steadfast courage with which he has assailed the pope of Rome, so long as the papacy has existed, not to mention others. But whose is this deed? Is it of God or of Luther? Ask Luther himself; I well know he will say of God. Why then do you ascribe other men's doctrine to Luther, when he ascribes his own to God? Again, I will not bear the name of Luther, because I have read very little of his doctrine and have often refrained from his writings on purpose to satisfy the papists. But what I have read of his writings (so far as concerns dogmas, doctrine, meaning and sense of Scripture, for I have nothing to do with his quarrels) is generally so well seen and grounded in the Word of God, that it is not possible for any creature to controvert them." *

The first of January, 1519, Zwingli entered upon his duties as preacher in the cathedral at Zurich, which was to be the scene of his labors as reformer. The influence of Luther's work in Germany made a receptive soil for the truth. The evangelical preaching of Zwingli attracted increasing numbers. "This is a preacher of the truth," said the treasurer of the City Council, "who is not afraid to speak—who will be our Moses and lead us out of Egypt." At this time Samson, an indulgence vender, appeared at Zurich to carry on his nefarious traffic. Zwingli denounced the traffic, and attacked the doctrine upon which it rested; and as a result, Samson was sent out of the country. As Zwingli continued his evangelical preaching with increasing influence and power, a conflict with the papacy became inevitable. He distinguished with increasing clearness between divine and human ordinances. Having declared fast-

* Gieselér's *Eccle. Hist.*, Vol. V., pp. 307, 387.

ing to be a human ordinance, he was accused by the Bishop of Constance before the Council of Zurich. This was in 1522. Zwingli conducted his own defense, and came off victorious. The Council dismissed the charges. This controversy occasioned his first reformatory writing,* in which he showed that we are not saved by the deeds of the law.

The following year the Council ordered a public disputation concerning the new doctrines; Zwingli prepared sixty-seven theses in which his doctrinal views are contained, and in which the fundamental principles of the Reformation are more or less clearly embodied. A few are here given: "1. All who say that the Gospel is naught without the approval of the Church, err and slander God. 2. Briefly, the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, true Son of God, revealed to us the will of our heavenly Father, and redeemed us from death and reconciled us to God. 3. Therefore Christ is the only way of salvation for all who ever lived, now live, or will live hereafter. 4. He who seeks or shows any other door, errs; yea, is a murderer of souls and a thief. 6. For Christ is the guide and captain, promised and given by God to the whole human race. 7. That he is the eternal salvation and head of all believers, who are his body, which is dead and can do nothing without him. 16. Man learns in the Gospel that human doctrines and institutions are useless for salvation. 17. That Christ is the only eternal high priest; wherefore we conclude that they who have pretended to be high priests resist the honor and power of Christ, yea, reject them. 18. That Christ, who offered himself once, is forever a perfect and satisfactory sacrifice for the sins of all believers; from which we conclude that the Mass is no sacrifice. 19. That Christ is the only Mediator between God and man. 50. God forgives sins only for the sake of Jesus Christ, his Son, our Lord." †

The Council were convinced by the arguments and eloquence of Zwingli, and ordered him to continue in his good

* Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Spysen.

† Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, Vol. III.

work. All other ministers were likewise enjoined to preach in accordance with Holy Scripture. The Reformation, thus legally established, went forward rapidly. The Latin language was discontinued in worship; the incomes of chapters and monasteries were applied to education; the celibacy of the clergy was abolished; monks and nuns were freed from their vows; and image-worship was declared to be idolatrous. In 1523 Zwingli adopted a provisory liturgy, which was based on the Roman Mass, and closely corresponded to Luther's Formula Missæ. Its parts are as follows:

PART I. (WORD GROUP).

1. Introit.
2. Kyrie.
3. Gloria in Excelsis.
4. Collect.
5. Epistle.
6. Hallelujah with sequence.
7. Gospel.
8. Sermon.
9. Confession of faith.
10. General prayer.

PART II. (EUCCHARIST).

1. Preface with Sanctus.
2. Consecration, consisting of a prayer and words of institution.
3. Distribution.
4. Prayer of Thanksgiving.
5. Nunc Dimittis.
6. Benediction.

In 1525 Zwingli introduced his liturgy of the Lord's Supper, which was intended to reproduce something of the simplicity of the early Church. This is the first Reformed liturgy. In the Introduction, after stating that the Lord's Supper had been restored to its proper place, he continues:

“In regard to the ceremonies that accompany it, what we have done may be perhaps regarded by some as too much, and by others as too little. In this, however, every congregation is free to enjoy its own opinion; for in regard to this point we will not dispute with any. For what injuries and defections from God have till now grown out of many of these ceremonies, all believers well understand. For this reason we have thought it good in the use of the Holy Supper, to prescribe to our people as few ceremonies and as little church pomp as possible, so that the old error may not in time creep in again. The Holy Supper is itself a ceremony—though one instituted by Christ himself—which is sufficient. Still, in order that the ordinance may not be celebrated in a way too bleak and bare, and that something may be yielded to human weakness, we have, as in this form, accompanied its celebration with such ceremonies as we believe to be suited, in some measure, to excite devotion, and prepare the heart in a spiritual way to remember the death of Christ, to increase faith and brotherly love, to promote holiness of life, and to subdue vice in the hearts and lives of men. In so doing, however, it has not been our design to set aside for other congregations any such ceremonies as have perhaps been promotive of devotion among them, such as singing and some others of the same nature; for we entertain the hope that all pastors in all places are sincerely concerned in every way to build up God’s people and to win many to his service.” * The order of the service is as follows:

1. Prayer by the minister with face turned toward the congregation.

2. Reading of 1 Cor. xi. 10-20.

3. The minister and the congregation repeat the Gloria in Excelsis, the minister, men and women saying sentences in turn, and all concluding with Amen.

* Daniel’s Codex Liturgicus, Tom. III. Also, Mercersburg Review, Vol. IX.

4. Salutation (The Lord be with you), and response by the people (And with thy spirit).

5. Reading of John vi. 47-64, the people responding to the announcement of the Gospel lesson with, "The Lord be praised." After the reading, the minister kisses the book and says: "For this let the name of the Lord be praised, who according to his most Holy Word, forgiveth all our sins." The people respond, Amen.

6. The Apostles' Creed repeated antiphonically as the Gloria in Excelsis.

7. After a short admonition the minister repeats the Lord's Prayer, to which the people respond, Amen.

8. Prayer for a blessed participation of the sacrament, followed by the words of institution.

9. Distribution of the elements, which are brought by the minister and his attendants to the communicants who remain at their seats.

10. The reading of the 113th Psalm antiphonically by the minister, men and women.

11. In conclusion the minister says: "Lord, we give thanks unto thee for all thy gifts and mercies, who livest and reignest, God blessed forever." The people respond, Amen. The minister then says: "Depart in peace."

The Communion was first celebrated according to this form on Thursday of Passion Week, 1525. "Indescribably great," says Jean Grob, a biographer of Zwingli, "was the impression made by this first celebration according to the new mode. All were most deeply affected. Aged men and women, while receiving the bread and wine with thankful emotions, wept aloud. After the celebration many embraced each other as redeemed brethren. People who had long been enemies extended their hands sincerely to one another; a spirit of brotherly love, as in the early Christian Church, could be felt everywhere. Zwingli could not thank the Lord sufficiently for the rich blessing of this first celebration of the Lord's Supper." *

* Life of Zwingli, Chap. xv.

The first part of the service, which finds its centre in the sermon, also underwent a transformation. The provisional form of 1523 gave place to a much simpler order, as follows:

1. Votum: "The grace, mercy and peace of Almighty God, be with us poor sinners always. Amen."
2. General prayer, followed by the Lord's Prayer.
3. Sermon.
4. Confession of sin, concluding with these words: "Almighty, eternal God, forgive us our sins, and lead us unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."
5. Mention of those who had died during the week, followed by this prayer: "Let us praise and thank God, that he has taken these our brethren and sisters in the true faith from this present misery, has released them from sorrow and toil, and has transferred them into eternal joy; and we pray God that he may grant us grace to live in such a manner, that we also may be led in true faith into the eternal fellowship of his elect. Amen."

This service is arranged according to a definite plan. Inasmuch as spiritual needs lead the congregation to the house of God, prayer, which expresses the wants and desires of the congregation, is placed at the beginning. Then follows the Word, in which God's will and grace are declared and the condition and duties of the people are set forth. These truths naturally beget a feeling of sinfulness and repentance, which finds expression in the Confession. This earnestness and solemnity of soul are deepened by thoughts of death and eternal life, and at the same time awaken a sense of the unity of the Church militant and triumphant. The most noteworthy feature in this liturgy is the absence of music. Zwingli himself was a musician. But as he found the music of the Roman Church unedifying, he abolished it, without having anything at first to put in its place. This defect was remedied later, and in 1598 German hymns were introduced into the service at Zurich. Though we can discern excellence in this liturgy of Zwingli, we cannot help feeling that

he would have done better in proceeding less independently, and in adhering more closely to the provisional service of 1523.

2. When Calvin came to Geneva in 1536, he found the way clear for the introduction of reforms in worship. Through the reformatory efforts of Farel, the city had recently thrown off its allegiance to Rome. But no confession of faith nor order of service had yet been prepared. As the Roman Mass had already been completely abolished, Calvin naturally thought of an independent service more or less closely modeled after the usages of the early Church.

Calvin's previous training admirably fitted him for the work to which he was called in Geneva. To an acute understanding he had added great learning. A study of the Scriptures had opened his eyes to the truth; and, like Luther, though with fewer spiritual conflicts, he found peace alone in fellowship with Christ by faith. He studied at Paris, where he became a recognized leader among those who sympathized with the German Reformation. When Francis I. was persecuting the Protestants of France, Calvin prepared the first draft of the Institutes of the Christian Religion in order to acquaint the king with the true doctrines of the Reformation. With great clearness and force he set forth in this work the fundamental principles of the reformatory movement. He made the Bible the sole standard of doctrine; defined the Church as a communion of saints made visible through the Word and sacraments, and taught justification by faith alone. His own religious life, however, had something of Old Testament rigor.

Before Calvin came to Geneva, the churches had been stripped of their decorations. This was not inaccordant with his austere type of piety. His first order of service, which was introduced in 1536, was very brief. The garb of the minister was a plain black robe. Besides Sunday, Calvin retained the festivals of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday. To provide for congre-

gational singing, he encouraged Marot and Beza to make a metrical version of the Psalms, the first edition of which appeared in 1543. This order of service was as follows:

1. Confession of sin.
2. Singing a Psalm.
3. Free Prayer with the Lord's Prayer.
4. Text and Sermon.
5. Prayer.

This order of service was soon expanded. The Ten Commandments were introduced in order to give a basis for the sense of sin, which finds expression in the Confession. After the sermon, the Apostles' Creed is introduced, in order to bring before the mind, after the particular truths presented in the text, a complete summary of Christian doctrine. Calvin's complete service connected with preaching is as follows:

1. Scripture lesson with the Ten Commandments.
2. Confession of sin, with prayer for pardon and grace.
3. Singing a Psalm.
4. Free Prayer.
5. Text and Sermon.
6. Prayer with the Lord's Prayer.
7. Apostles' Creed.
8. Benediction of Numbers vi. 23.

The liturgy of the Lord's Supper consists of the following parts. To the prayer after the sermon, is added:

1. Prayer of invocation.
2. Apostles' Creed.
3. Exhortation.
4. Consecration of the elements.
5. Distribution, while a Psalm is sung or a portion of Scripture is read.
6. Prayer of Thanksgiving.
7. Nunc Dimittis.
8. Benediction.

The Lord's Supper was administered four times a year,

and was made the central point of the service on those occasions. Calvin's desire was that it be administered every month; but when his views met with decided opposition, "it seemed better to spare the weakness of the people's faith, than to strive obstinately against it." As at Wittenberg, daily services, consisting of prayers and sermon, were provided. "If Luther's reformatory labors were determined by the Christian conscience, which on the basis of profound personal experience of the way of salvation was directed against all institutions and forms concealing or obscuring the proclamation of the Gospel, or barring the way of grace (while the same Christian conscience could patiently tolerate all forms and factors which did not hinder the Gospel): if in Zwingli it was above all the spirit of clearness, the sound, sober feeling of truth, which opposed itself to everything untrue in an objective as well as in a subjective sense, to everything opposed to or inconsistent with the Bible: in Calvin it is doctrinal reflexion which determines the construction of the liturgy." *

3. From the time Patrick Hamilton was burned at the stake for preaching evangelical doctrine, the Reformation continued to gain adherents in Scotland. By the martyrdom of Wishart in 1546, John Knox, a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, was led to profess his adherence to the Protestant faith. A man of learning, piety and zeal, he exerted his influence in behalf of the Protestant cause, and at last earned the title of Reformer of Scotland. Captured by the French in 1547, he was confined to the galleys for nearly two years, and suffered great hardships. This experience served to give a stern inflexibility to his character, and a rigorous coloring to his piety. After preaching for several years at different points in England, and serving as chaplain to Edward VI., he found it prudent in 1554 to withdraw from the country under the reign of Mary. He spent a considerable part of the next five years at Geneva, where he was cordially wel-

*Alt's *Christlicher Cultus*.

comed by Calvin, and placed over a small congregation of English exiles. He was delighted with the religious condition of the city. "In my heart," he says in a letter to a friend, "I could have wished, yea, cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place; where, I neither fear nor am ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that was ever in the earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places, I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."

For a short time in 1554 Knox had served as pastor to the English congregation at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he drew up an order of service, which was closely modeled after that of Calvin in Geneva. It had the approval of Calvin, and was unanimously adopted by the English congregation at Geneva. It was first published in 1556, and was designed, not simply for the congregation at Geneva, but also for use in Scotland and England. "We, therefore," says the Preface, "not as the greatest clerks of all, but as the least able of many, do present unto you, which desire the increase of God's glory, and the pure simplicity of his Word, a form and order of a Reformed Church, limit within the compass of God's Word, which our Saviour hath left unto us as only sufficient to govern all our actions by." It was adopted by Act of the General Assembly of Scotland in 1560, and continued in use for about a hundred years. The order of worship was as follows:

1. Confession of sin, for which two forms were provided.
2. Scripture lessons.
3. Singing a Psalm.
4. Prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit.
5. Sermon.
6. General prayer, embodying the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.
7. Singing a Psalm.

8. Benediction.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which was usually once a month, the order was as follows:

1. Preface, consisting chiefly of a rehearsal of 1 Cor. xi. 23-30.

2. Exhortation, which is very long.

3. The communicants being seated at the table, the minister takes bread and gives thanks.

4. Distribution. The minister breaks the bread and delivers it to the people, who distribute it among themselves. Likewise the cup. During which a suitable passage of Scripture is read.

5. Prayer and thanksgiving.

6. Singing the ciii. Psalm or other selection.

7. Benediction.

In general, it may be said that the liturgies of Calvin and Knox are simple, Scriptural and beautiful. The Reformed Churches of the continent have retained liturgies similar to that of Calvin. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that in Scotland and the United States these forms have been replaced by simpler and apparently less edifying orders of service. This result, however, naturally followed the foolish and unrighteous attempts of Archbishop Laud to force the English Prayer Book upon the people of Scotland. Notwithstanding the liturgical labors of Calvin and Knox, prescribed forms of worship were suggestive of persecution and papal superstitions. To quote a Scottish writer: "It has arisen out of the fearful evils and abuses flowing from the shameless and idolatrous forms of popery, mumbled over by a lazy and corrupt priesthood, without feeling and almost without decency; succeeded by the cruel and insane attempts to force upon a reluctant people forms containing sentiments and rites which they abhorred." But this feeling is far less prevalent at the present day; and the time is at hand when the question of liturgical forms can be decided, not by traditional prejudices, but by candid investigation.

4. The Reformation in England, like that of Switzerland, was in large measure independent in its origin. Through the revival of learning, the general intelligence had been greatly advanced, and measurably emancipated from the thralldom of superstition. At the same time, a study of the New Testament in the original Greek had diffused a better knowledge of the Gospel. For several years Luther's writings had been studied at Oxford and Cambridge with increasing interest and approval. The abuses existing in the Roman Church were generally recognized. In England, as in other countries, the extortions of the papacy and the ambition, idleness and licentiousness of the priesthood had aroused a deep dissatisfaction with the existing state of the Church. Thus the fullness of time had come, and now awaited only a leader to begin and carry forward the work of reformation.

This leader was provided in a most extraordinary manner. How true it is that "the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Not a theologian and preacher, urged on by an overwhelming sense of duty, but an obstinate monarch, impelled by ambition and lust, was to begin the work. Henry VIII. was for a time a staunch supporter of the papacy, and in 1521 had published, in reply to Luther's *Babylonian Captivity*, his *Defence of the Sacraments*, for which he received from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith." But when a few years later he became enamored of Anne Boleyn, and the pope had refused to grant him a divorce from his wife Catharine, Henry determined to free himself from papal supremacy, and in 1534 had himself declared to be the supreme head of the Church of England, with full powers to correct abuses and suppress heresies. At heart the king still remained a Catholic, and contemplated no changes of doctrine or ritual. He persecuted Protestants and papists alike. Frith and Tyndale were killed for promulgating Protestant doctrines, and More and Fisher, for adhering to the pope. In the Act

of Supremacy, by which the king was made head of the English Church, Henry had the support of the English people. But when the break had once been made with Rome, he could not control the reformatory movement. In 1536, ten doctrinal articles were adopted by the Southern Convocation, and promulgated by the king as a guide in religious teaching. While they recognized several superstitions of the Roman Church—the use of images, auricular confession, invocation of saints, and purgatory—they made the Bible, with the three ecumenical creeds, the standard of doctrine, and declared that salvation is obtained by faith alone. In 1539, the Bible was printed in English and scattered broadcast over the land. No longer could there be any doubt about the ultimate victory of Protestantism.

Henry VIII. was succeeded by Edward VI. in 1547, under whom Protestantism was completely established. Archbishop Cranmer, who had been held in check by Henry VIII., was now free to declare his adhesion to Protestantism. He was encouraged to go forward in the reformatory work by Protestant theologians on the Continent—Melanchthon, Bullinger, Calvin, Bucer and others—with whom at various times he carried on correspondence. Among the changes introduced at this time may be mentioned the abandonment of transubstantiation, the administration of the Communion in both kinds, the repeal of the laws enforcing celibacy, and the removal of pictures and images from the churches. Naturally a reform of worship claimed attention. A change in the old order of service was desirable in four particulars: 1. The substitution of English in place of Latin; 2. The giving of greater prominence to Holy Scripture; 3. The removal of what was superstitious and false; 4. The simplification of the service. In 1548 the king “appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other discreet bishops and divines, to draw an order of divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive Church.” * Upon the com-

* Cardwell's *Two Liturgies of King Edward VI.*, p. 12.

pletion of their work it was ratified by act of Parliament in 1549, and is known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. It was based on the service books of the Roman Church, the office of the Holy Communion, with the collects, epistles and gospels, being a translation and adaptation of the Roman Missal used in the diocese of Salisbury, and known as the Sarum Use. In parts, however, the new liturgy was indebted to the liturgical labors of reformers on the Continent. "In the great body of the work, indeed," says Cardwell, "they derived the materials from the earlier services of their own church; but in the occasional offices, it is clear on examination that they were indebted to the labors of Melancthon and Bucer."

The First Prayer Book did not long continue in use. It retained a considerable number of Roman Catholic usages, which gave offense to many Protestants. Among the objectionable practices, which were thought to savor of superstition and error, are to be noted the sign of the cross in consecration, confirmation, marriage and visitation of the sick; the use of exorcism and chrism at baptism; anointing of the sick; prayers for the dead; the requirements of vestments with albs and tunics for Eucharistic use, and of the pastoral staff and cope for bishops; the ceremonies of crossing and knocking on the breast; and a number of others of like nature. Leaders in the reformatory movement at home and abroad began to protest against a service thus permeated with papal leaven. In the words of Cardwell, "Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset, before the close of the same year, complaining of several parts of the service, on information which he appears to have obtained from Bucer; a Lasco addressed himself to Cranmer on the continuance of certain practices which he deemed superstitious; and Martyr and Bucer, then holding respectively the office of King's Professor of Theology in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, would naturally not continue silent respecting prayers and ceremonies which they formally reported to be un-

sound and dangerous, when they were consulted afterwards by Cranmer." These numerous protests, emanating from men of high intelligence and great influence, could not long remain without effect. The convocation of 1550 discussed the question of revision. The king, who felt great aversion to the service of the Mass, was openly opposed to a liturgy calculated, as he thought, to support it, and he frankly declared that if the necessary changes could not be otherwise effected, he would interpose his own authority. As a result of this agitation, a revision of the Prayer Book was ordered—a task which the commissioners completed in 1551.

The new book, known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., was authorized by act of Parliament in 1552, and ordered to be used throughout the kingdom. It omitted the objectionable features already noted in the First Prayer Book, introduced many other changes, and altogether it may be regarded as much more evangelical. In its preparation Cranmer's influence was dominant. He was at the head of the commission; and in the language of Strype in his Memorials of the Archbishop, "As his authority was now very great, so there was undoubtedly great deference paid to it, as also to his wisdom and learning, by the rest of the divines appointed to that work; so that nothing was by them inserted into the liturgy but by his good allowance and approbation; so neither would they reject or oppose what he thought fit should be put in or altered." * This Second Prayer Book did not, however, have time to come into use in all parts of the kingdom. In 1553 King Edward died, and Mary ascended the throne. With her father's obstinacy of character, she was fanatically devoted to the religion of her mother. She at once set about restoring Roman Catholicism; and naturally one of her first acts was the abolition of the Prayer Book and the restoration of the Roman Missal. The persecution that followed has forever fixed her name in history as "Bloody Mary." Hooper, Ridley, Latimer,

* Burbidge's *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, p. 166.

Cranmer and several hundred others perished at the stake. "Play the man, Master Ridley," said Latimer as he stood in the flames; "we shall this day light up such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." This hope was not disappointed. The fanaticism and cruelty of Mary produced a reaction in favor of Protestantism. When in 1558 Mary died, Elizabeth was heartily welcomed to the throne. She was conservatively Protestant—Lutheran rather than Calvinistic. In re-establishing Protestantism, she proceeded cautiously and as circumstances required. In 1559 she ventured to restore the Prayer Book, not, however, in the exact shape it bore in 1552, but with various modifications, which exhibit a conservative and Romanizing tendency. Other revisions, one in 1604 under James I., and another in 1662, after the restoration of Charles II., showed the same conservative direction, and left the Prayer Book in its present form. The arrangement of the chief service or Communion is as follows:

PART I. (THE WORD GROUP.)

1. Lord's Prayer, the people kneeling.
2. Collect for Purity.
3. The Ten Commandments. The people continue on their knees, and after every commandment say: "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law."
4. Collect for the Queen, followed by the collect for the day.
5. Epistle.
6. Gospel, the people standing.
7. Apostles' Creed. Here follow the announcements.
8. Sermon.

PART II. (THE EUCHARIST.)

1. Offertory. This consists of one or more texts of Scripture, during the reading of which by the minister, the deacons collect the offerings.
2. Prayer for the Church militant on the earth.

3. Exhortation.
4. Confession of sin, with absolution, and a few comforting verses of Scripture.
5. Sursum Corda.
6. Preface, with the Sanctus.
7. Prayer for blessed participation.
8. Prayer of consecration, with the words of institution.
9. Distribution, the priest communing first himself, and afterwards giving the elements to the people who kneel.
10. The Lord's Prayer, followed by a prayer of thanksgiving, the people kneeling.
11. Gloria in Excelsis.
12. Benediction.

As Kœstlin has justly remarked, this order of service bears the character of eclecticism. Its parts have been brought from various sources. Its use of the vernacular tongue places it in sharp contrast with the Roman service, and ranges it among the liturgies of the Reformation. The retention of traditional forms appears at first sight to make it a liturgy of the Lutheran type; but, on closer examination, this is found to be a mistake. Its abundant use of Scripture, its formula for the distribution of the elements in the Lord's Supper, and its indifference to the festivals commemorating the principal events in the life of our Lord, make it a liturgy of the Reformed type. With much that is beautiful and edifying, the Anglican liturgy is not wholly free from defects. The collect for the Queen interrupts the progress of the service; and the parts after the sermon are too loosely connected in motive, and too tedious in movement. While the communion is intended to be the central thing in the service, it does not sufficiently control and harmonize all its parts. "While the attempt is made," says Kœstlin, "to govern the entire action by the idea of the Eucharist, the dualism of the service for catechumens and the service of believers is not wholly overcome."

CHAPTER XIV.

RECENT LITURGICAL MOVEMENTS AND TENDENCIES.

THE Church of the sixteenth century did not undertake to construct an absolutely new liturgy. It returned in spirit to the principles of the New Testament; but at the same time, especially in Germany, it contented itself with adopting such parts of the Roman liturgy as were thought to minister to edification, and in no way to conflict with evangelical truth. Proceeding with carefully conservative spirit, the reformers in some cases made concessions to the ignorance and prejudices of the people, and in others did not clearly consider the internal relations of the several parts adopted from the liturgy of the Mass. Hence we find that the position of the Creed, of the Kyrie and of the Lord's Prayer, is not everywhere the same. But the most striking circumstance and apparent inconsistency is in relation to the Eucharist. This is made a part of every leading service, although in principle the proclamation of the Word is considered the central point in worship. In the position and prominence thus given to the sacrament, the German reformers followed the practice, not of the Apostolic, but of the Roman Catholic Church, and introduced a dualism into worship which easily led to a rejection or neglect of their fundamental principle of the pre-eminence of the Word.

The theological strifes of the seventeenth century naturally led to formalism in worship. This is the period of scholastic orthodoxy. The intellectual energies of the Church were largely absorbed in the effort to develop, fix and defend systems of doctrine. The theological writings of this period are remarkable for their comprehensive treatment and logical acuteness. But in giving so much atten-

tion to dogma, the Church in large measure lost sight of the law of love and duty. Christianity was made a matter of doctrine rather than of life. In the language of Kurtz, "Orthodoxy degenerated into orthodoxism; *externally*, not only discovering essential differences, but disregarding the broad basis of a common faith, and running into odious and unrestrained controversy; *internally*, holding to the form of pure doctrine, but neglecting cordially to embrace it, and to live consistently with it." * Purity of doctrine was unduly emphasized. The Scriptures were looked upon chiefly as a source of dogmatic truth, and the office of the ministry degenerated into a mere teaching of Lutheran orthodoxy. The outward acceptance of a system of doctrine took the place of a regenerated heart. The prayers and hymns used in congregational worship became means of instruction in "pure doctrine," and the celebration of the Lord's Supper was made a test of confessional fidelity. In the presence of this ultra confessional spirit, which magnified the importance of accepting an extended doctrinal system, worship naturally tended to formalism. This tendency was confirmed by the demoralizing effects of the 'Thirty Years' War, and, at length, in the words of Kœstlin, "The liturgy became a mere form, and worship no longer answered the demand of subjective truth. But according to the meaning of the reformers, the purpose of all the regulations and forms of worship was to beget a new life through the Word and holy sacraments as means of grace, to educate the Christian congregation to an adoration of God in spirit and in truth, to build the people up in Christian character, in order that what the liturgy pre-supposed and placed in the mouth of the congregation might in some measure at least become subjective truth." †

This exclusive confessional tendency, known in ecclesiastical history as "dead orthodoxy," could not everywhere satisfy the Christian conscience. It naturally called forth

* Church History, Vol. II., p. 196.

† Geschichte des Christ. Gottes., p. 221.

a reaction, which consisted essentially in a return to an evangelical conception of Christianity. This movement, which was stigmatized by its opponents as Pietism, began with Spener. He desired to substitute the Scriptures in place of a scholastic theology, as the living source of all saving knowledge, to make the outward orthodox confession a real faith in the heart, and to embody Christian principles in the daily life. According to Alt, Pietism "had no other object than to restore internal piety to its place. Before this time, attendance upon preaching, no matter what its character, was held as something meritorious. Whatever was preached from the pulpit was held as God's Word, and scarcely any one ventured the least doubt that under all circumstances it must work a blessing." * But within the Pietistic movement divine service became less mechanical; and its blessings came to the worshipping assembly, not through the performance of a meritorious work, but through the Word operating upon the mind and heart. In discussing the relation of Pietism to worship, Kœstlin says: "It sought to reach the subjective truth of worship by completing and deepening the work of the Church; by realizing and developing Christianity in the individuals who form the Church and attend worship, and thus, within the Church *late dicta*, to realize in greater measure, by the conversion and renewal of men, the Church *proprie dicta*." † Though in its extreme development it led to a one-sided subjectivism in worship, Pietism had an evangelical basis and exerted a wide influence. It helped to banish from the Church sacerdotal arrogance, superficial confessionalism and inconsistent living. It added largely to the hymnological treasures of the Church, and restored the earnest, practical preaching of the Reformation era. In conformity with the principles of Protestant worship, it held congregational assemblies for the hearing of the Word without the administration of the sacrament. It made use of free prayers, regarded liturgical

* Christlicher Cultus, p. 318.

† Geschichte des Christ. Gottes., p. 221.

forms with indifference, and allowed the minister greater freedom in the direction of worship. "Pietism poured a mighty religious stream into the national life," says Kurtz, "and sustained it by zealous preaching, pastoral care, devotional meetings, and an almost exuberant devotional literature. Orthodoxy, also, which had been enriched by Pietism, manifested a not less efficient and still more sterling activity through ministry, word and pen." *

The rationalism of the eighteenth century exerted a baleful influence both upon the forms and spirit of worship. It began with Deism in England, then gained ascendancy in France, and afterwards extended to Germany. It is designated by the Germans the period of "*Aufklärung*" or "illumination." It exalted the powers of human reason, and eliminated everything supernatural from Christianity. While making use of the Scriptures, it found nothing in them beyond a religion of nature. In its hostility to tradition, it swept away many existing institutions. It took possession of the literature and culture of the age. It gained a foothold in the palaces of kings, and among the leaders of popular opinion.

In this atmosphere of rationalism and infidelity, the Church declined. The clergy became lukewarm and skeptical. Worship was made to conform to a shallow sentimentality. The sermon degenerated often to the level of a lecture, aiming at entertainment, or, at the most, merely moral instruction. The liturgical forms were revised, and the clear objective statements of Scripture doctrine gave place to superficial rhetorical platitudes.

In discussing rationalism in its relation to worship, Kœstlin says: "Christianity is to it only the historical introduction of natural religion, especially the religion of reason, of true morality: the Church has worth only so far as it is a school of virtue and worship, only so far as it furthers morality by means of instruction. Hence the specifically Chris-

* Church History, p. 250.

tian and Biblical impress of worship in speech and forms is by all means to be subordinated to this moral improvement; and if it does not promote this end, but extends beyond the comprehension of the average man, it is to be adjusted to his intelligence, and made to suit the congregation as it is. Thus, while Pietism sought to build up the existing congregation to the height of the Christianity finding expression in the liturgy, rationalism strove to accommodate the liturgy to the state of knowledge existing in the congregation." *

The rise of Methodism in England was significant for Church life and worship. It accomplished for the Established Church in England what Pietism, which it much resembled, accomplished for the Lutheran Church in Germany. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the religious life of England was at low ebb. The clergy were in large measure idle, indifferent and worldly; the masses were neglected and the churches were empty. A spirit of intolerance prevailed, and preachers seemed more eager to denounce their absent adversaries than to edify and save their congregations. Bishop Butler declared in 1736, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." In the midst of this low spiritual condition, which was recognized and lamented by able and pious men, help came from an unexpected source. In 1729 several Oxford students, among whom were John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, organized themselves into a society for the study of the Scriptures and religious conversation. They adopted rather ascetic rules of life; and on account of their methodical ob-

* Geschichte des Chris. Gottes., p. 225.

servance of them, they became known among their fellow-students as Methodists. They frequently partook of the Communion, and were diligent in visiting the poor and consoling the suffering.

From this small body of Oxford students there came several great preachers who stirred the religious life of England and America. They were subject to ridicule and persecution; but their impassioned sermons, charged with the great doctrines of sin, death, judgment, faith, eternal life, profoundly moved the popular mind and heart. The congregations, assembled in the open air, often numbered many thousands, and not infrequently melted into tears under the appeals of this unconventional but powerful oratory. At the time of Wesley's death, in 1791, the Methodists of England and America, who were now organized in societies, numbered more than a hundred thousand, and at the present time they rank as one of the great denominations of the English-speaking world. Their mode of worship, consisting of singing, free prayer, Scripture reading and preaching, is very simple. Emphasizing the emotional side of religion, their worship is characterized by fervor of spirit. Their principal hymn-writer is Charles Wesley, whose songs have found wide acceptance outside of the Methodist Church.

With the beginning of the present century there came a healthy reaction against rationalism in Germany. The horrors of the French Revolution revealed to the world the effects of atheism upon society. The humiliation of Germany under the conquests of Napoleon turned the eyes of the nation to God for help; and when at length deliverance came, there was a natural outburst of joyful thanksgiving. The Holy Alliance entered into in 1815 by Alexander I., Francis I. and Frederick William III., had as its avowed object "to make Christianity the highest law of national life, in spite of all confessional dissensions."

With this revival of religious feeling, there appeared a number of able theologians, who gave direction and form to

the newly awakened Christian life. Modern theology dates from this period. Among those who exerted a specially significant influence upon doctrine and worship was Schleiermacher. "The chief service which he rendered to theology," says Dorner, "and that which above all else makes him an important figure in its history, is that he overcame that antagonism of rationalism and supernaturalism which prevailed till about 1820." * Religion he considered, not a function of the intelligence and will, but of the religious nature of man. Essentially he held religion to be a feeling of absolute dependence upon God. With this distinct recognition of the religious nature of man, worship could not be regarded as a meritorious act or artistic performance, but as a need and expression of the inward spiritual life.

After the Napoleonic wars, Prussia became one of the great powers of Europe, and the champion of Protestantism. The Protestant portion of the population, which largely predominated over the Roman Catholic element, was divided between the Lutheran and the Reformed Church. In order to avoid hurtful dissensions, it seemed desirable to the government to bring about a union of the two Churches. The time was favorable. The bitter polemical spirit of a former age had in large measure disappeared. The union which was effected upon the tercentenary jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, was not a fusion of confessions, but a fellowship in Christian love. While each Church retained its confession, there was practical recognition and co-operation under a single church government. In 1822 a new liturgy, in the preparation of which the king himself had participated, was introduced. It is a free reproduction of the ancient service, but lacks the unity of a single organic principle. Its parts are as follows:

1. Introductory hymn.
2. "In the name of the Father," etc.
3. Confession of Sin.

* Hist. Prot. Theol., Vol. II., p. 376.

4. Introit.
5. Gloria Patri.
6. Kyrie.
7. Gloria in Excelsis.
8. Salutation. "The Lord be with you," etc.
9. Epistle.
10. Hallelujah.
11. Gospel.
12. "Praise be to thee," etc.
13. Creed.
14. Preface.
15. General Prayer.
16. Lord's Prayer.
17. Hymn.
18. Sermon.
19. Benediction.

LORD'S SUPPER.

20. Admonition.
21. Words of Institution.
22. "The peace of God."
23. Prayer.
24. Distribution.
25. Thanksgiving.
26. Benediction.

Contrary to the evangelical principle of worship, the responses are made, not by the congregation, but by the choir. Where a choir was lacking, a shorter and simpler form of service was provided, as follows:

1. Hymn.
2. "In the name of the Father," etc.
3. Confession of Sin.
4. Kyrie.
5. Gloria Patri.
6. Salutation.
7. Collect.

8. Scripture Lessons.
9. Creed.
10. General Prayer.
11. Lord's Prayer.
12. Principal Hymn.
13. Sermon.
14. Benediction.

The adoption of the Prussian liturgy gave rise to much discussion, and consequently to renewed activity in the sphere of liturgics. The discussion was participated in by some of the ablest theologians of Germany, among whom were Schleiermacher, Augusti, Nitzsch, Marheineke and others. Since that time the subject of liturgics has received much attention in Germany, and there are many works treating of the history, principles and forms of worship. With this study has come a clearer liturgical insight, and a higher appreciation of traditional forms. Among those who have shown a decided High Church tendency, or to use the words of Kurtz, "a Romanizing tendency with regard to the idea of the Church and of the ministry," are William Löhe and Theodore Kliefoth, whose liturgical writings have exerted a wide influence. This tendency, which Dorner justly characterizes as "German Puseyism," represents pastors as successors of the Apostles, and ascribes to them a priestly character; it magnifies the sacraments as means of grace, and makes their administration the central point in worship; it exalts the power of the keys, which is placed alone in the hands of the clerical order; and in opposition to the concurrent testimony of the Protestant Reformation, it represents the Church, not as a spiritual communion of saints, but as a visible organization.

But Puseyism was an alien in Germany, and never became naturalized. About the year 1868 it began to disappear. It has left no permanent impression on theological thought or on ecclesiastical practice in Germany. The Lutheran churches of South Germany persevere in that simplicity of

worship which they received from their Reformation fathers. In Central and Northern Germany the Lutheran churches continue to model their forms of worship on the Orders of the sixteenth century. Numerous revisions have occurred in recent decades. Nearly every territorial Church has its own particular *Agende*, which differs more or less from those of other territorial churches. In this respect, the old Lutheran custom of complete independence in the forms and ceremonies of religion is still preserved. *

In 1894 the General Synod of Prussia accepted the revised *Agende* that had been long in course of preparation. In the order of public worship it differs very little from its predecessor, as shown in the outline given above. It exhibits great freedom of movement and makes large provision for variations and substitutions. It allows a choice between five forms for the distribution of the elements in the Lord's Supper, as "equally entitled":

"Take and eat, says our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; . . . Take and drink all ye of it, says our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This cup is the New Testament in my blood," etc.

"Take and eat. This is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given unto death for thee (you) (for all thy [your] sins given unto death). May it strengthen and keep thee (you) in faith unto everlasting life. Amen. Take and drink. This is the blood," etc.

Or:

"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ given unto death for thee. May it strengthen and keep thee in faith unto everlasting life. Amen. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc.

"The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ. The cup which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ."

* See Handbuch der Liturgik von G. Rietschel, I., pp. 452 et seq., and Real Encycl., Vol. III., Art. Kirchenagende.

Or :

“ The cup of thanksgiving with which we give thanks, is the communion of the blood of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of our sins.”

The Tractarian or Puseyite movement in England, which began in 1833 with the publication of the first Tract for the Times, deserves more than passing mention for the potent influence it exerted upon theology and worship. The leaders of this movement were John Keble, John Henry Newman, Frederick William Faber, Edward Bouverie Pusey and others, all members of Oriel College, Oxford. In general, it was a protest against the liberal or tolerant spirit of the present age, and an effort to restore the dogmas and the ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages. It disowned the work of the great body of Protestant reformers, and rejected their distinctive teachings. While the Tractarians did not directly treat of forms of worship, from the discussion of which they purposely abstained, their doctrines in reference to the Church, the ministry and the sacraments, as they well understood, naturally led to the multiplication of forms, vestments and acts, which taken together constitute what is known as ritualism.

The study of this movement is full of instruction, as revealing the principles and tendencies of all High Churchism. It exalts the authority of tradition. In opposition to the Protestant principle of the supreme authority of the Scriptures in faith and practice, it teaches that “ Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint rule of faith.” * The figment of “ Catholic tradition ” is much dwelt upon. As in Roman Catholicism, this principle clearly opens the way for the introduction of unevangelical ideas and practices into the Protestant Church.

The Tractarians define the Church, not as a communion of saints united to Christ by a living faith and love, but as a visible organization presided over by the various orders of

* Tract No. 78.

the ministry. Speaking of the Church, Tract No. 2 says: "Doubtless the only true and satisfactory meaning is that which our divines have ever taken, that there is on earth an existing society, Apostolic, as founded by the Apostles, Catholic, because it spreads its branches in every place, *i. e.*, the Church visible, with its bishops, priests and deacons." The clerical order is perpetuated by Apostolic succession. In the first Tract for the Times it is declared that "The Lord Jesus gave his spirit to the Apostles; they in turn laid their hands upon those who succeeded them; these on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops." Without this Apostolic succession, there is no valid administration of the sacraments. "The Eucharist, administered without Apostolic commission, may, to pious minds, be a very edifying ceremony, but it is not that blessed thing which our Saviour graciously meant it to be: it is not, verily and indeed, taking and receiving the body and blood of him, our incarnate Lord." *

In regard to the sacraments, the Tractarians held to an administrative efficacy that does not differ essentially from the *opus operatum* of the Roman Church. They believed in baptismal regeneration, and taught a real presence in the Eucharist that differed from the Roman Catholic view, to use the words of Dr. Pusey, "probably only in words." The sacraments were made the channels through which grace and salvation were officially communicated to men. The clergy were represented as a priesthood acting as mediators between God and man, without whom, as the custodians of the means of grace, there could be no salvation. All this is obviously akin to the system of the Roman Catholic Church. Hence it is not surprising to find in the Tracts for the Times a longing for communion with that body. Speaking of the Roman Catholics, Tract No. 20 says: "The vaunted antiquity, the universality, the unanimity of their Church puts them above the varying fashions of the world and the relig-

* Tract No. 52.

ious novelties of the day; and truly, when one surveys the grandeur of their system, a sigh arises in the thoughtful mind to think that we should be separate from them." And at a later date a number of the leading Tractarians, among them Newman and Faber, entered the Roman communion, taking with them hundreds of the clergy and laity.

This Tractarian system naturally tends to externalism in worship. It transfers the work of the Church from the realm of the spiritual to the realm of the visible. Christianity is made a matter of ordinances. Salvation is made to depend, not upon the faith and love of the heart, but upon the reception of the sacraments administered by priestly hands. The sacraments are exalted at the expense of the public teaching of the Gospel. Clerical vestments were multiplied, and credence-tables, altar-crosses, altar-lights and colored altar-cloths became parts of the regular church furniture. Church buildings were restored or constructed in accordance with mediæval ideas.

This ritualistic and anti-Protestant tendency naturally aroused opposition; but through the energy and influence of the High Church party it has been able to maintain itself for nearly half a century. The combat has not yet ceased, but in the presence of a clearer apprehension of the spirit of Christianity, and of the great need of practical Church work, its force is necessarily waning.

The most noteworthy liturgical achievement in America has been the preparation of a Common Service Book for all English-speaking Lutherans by the joint action of the General Synod South (now the United Synod of the South), the General Synod North, and the General Council. The initiative step was taken by the General Synod South in 1878. The rule by which the Joint Committee appointed by these general bodies was to be guided in the preparation of the service was "The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, and where there is not an entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest

number of those of greatest weight." The preliminary principles agreed upon at a meeting held in Philadelphia in 1885 were as follows :

1. " It is the understanding of the whole Joint Committee that the result of our labors must be referred to the bodies we represent.

2. " We dare make no service binding on the congregation, and no part of a service should be used any longer than it serves to edification.

3. " We agree to furnish the full Lutheran service, with all its provisions, for all who wish to use it.

4. " If at any time or place the use of the full service is not desired, it is in entire conformity with good Lutheran usage that a simpler service may be provided and used in which only the principal parts of the service in their order are contained."

The normal Lutheran service as determined by the committee is as follows :

1. Introit.
2. Kyrie.
3. Gloria in Excelsis.
4. Collect.
5. Epistle.
6. Alleluia.
7. Gospel.
8. Creed.
9. Sermon.
10. General Prayer.
11. Preface.
12. Sanctus and Hosanna.
13. Exhortation to Communicants.
14. Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution, or the reverse.
15. Agnus Dei.
16. Distribution.
17. Collect of Thanksgiving.

18. Benediction.

This normal Lutheran service, with the additions proposed by the Joint Committee in their report to the General Bodies, is as follows :

1. Hymn of Invocation.
2. " In the name of the Father," etc.
3. Confession of Sins.
4. Introit.
5. Kyrie.
6. Gloria in Excelsis.
7. Collect.
8. Epistle.
9. Alleluia.
10. Gospel.
11. Creed.
12. Principal Hymn.
13. Sermon.
14. General Prayer.
15. Hymn.
16. Preface.
17. Sanctus and Hosanna.
18. Exhortation to Communicants.
19. Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution, or the reverse.
20. Agnus Dei.
21. Distribution.
22. Thanksgiving.
23. Benediction.

As thus presented in outline, the normal Lutheran service, with the additions suggested by the Committee, was approved by the General Bodies.

The Common Service, as completed and published by the Committee, consists of the following parts :

1. Hymn of Invocation.
2. " In the name of the Father," etc.
3. Confession of Sins, consisting of exhortation, ad-

jutorium, versicle ("I said I will confess," etc.), confession, confessional prayer, and declaration of grace or absolution.

4. Introit.
5. Gloria Patri.
6. Kyrie.
7. Gloria in Excelsis.
8. Salutation ("The Lord be with you," and response).
9. Collect.
10. Epistle.
11. Hallelujah, to which may be added a Psalm or hymn.
12. Gospel announced, followed by "Glory be to thee, O Lord."
13. Gospel read, followed by "Praise be to thee, O Christ."
14. Creed.
15. Hymn.
16. Sermon.
17. Votum ("The peace of God." etc.).
18. Offertory.
19. General Prayer.
20. Lord's Prayer.
21. Hymn.
22. Salutation ("The Lord be with you," and response).
23. Sursum Corda ("Lift up your hearts," etc.)
24. Preface.
25. Sanctus.
26. Exhortation.
27. The Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution.
28. Pax Vobiscum.
29. Agnus Dei.
30. Distribution.
31. Nunc Dimittis.
32. Thanksgiving Collect.
33. Benedicamus.
34. Benediction.

When the communion is not administered, the service is concluded with the Benediction after the second hymn.

A comparison of these tables will show, (1) the normal Lutheran service; (2) the normal Lutheran service with the additions approved by the General Bodies; and (3) the normal Lutheran service with the approved additions, and the additions made by the Committee apparently upon their own authority. These last additions consist of the versicle in the Confiteor, "I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord," with the response, "And thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin;" the response to the announcement of the Gospel, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," and the sentence following the reading, "Praise be to thee, O Christ;" the vatum, "The peace of God," etc.; the offertory; the salutation, *Sursum Corda*, *Pax vobiscum*, *Nunc Dimittis* and *Benedicamus*. Besides these additions, the rubrics for announcing the Epistle and the Gospel are unlike anything found in the liturgies of the sixteenth century, and the introits and collects correspond, not to the limited system adopted in the Lutheran orders of the Reformation era, but to the Roman Catholic usage of the Middle Ages.

The publication of the Common Service has been attended by much discussion, especially in the General Synod North. No consideration of its merits or demerits is here attempted, and only the leading historic facts, which have been frequently lost sight of, are briefly stated. What the outcome of the present agitation will be it is impossible clearly to foresee. Meanwhile, most persons acquainted with the facts will agree in wishing that the normal Lutheran service had been more closely adhered to.

At the present time there are various causes which tend more or less to a liturgical form of divine service. In the first place, there is a widespread feeling that the sermon is often made too prominent, and that the congregation should have a larger share in the service. Furthermore, where preaching is largely destitute of evangelical elements, or for any reason ceases to be truly edifying, it is recognized that a well-constructed liturgy is a valuable corrective in present-

ing the great leading truths of the Gospel, and in calling into active exercise the spiritual energies of the people. When the ministry have lost confidence in the power of the truth as presented in preaching, and come to look upon their office as a priestly administration of outward ordinances, they naturally tend to surround themselves with an imposing ceremonial. When a spirit of worldly-mindedness invades the Church, and spiritual worship becomes irksome or impossible, a complicated liturgy, which substitutes responses, risings and genuflections for the adoration of the heart, finds a cordial reception. If in addition to this, the liturgy, through its spectacular and musical form, can be made pleasing to the æsthetical sense, it becomes still more popular.

These are some of the causes, commendable or objectionable, which in recent years have created a widely extended desire for liturgical forms. Many forms of service, mostly without liturgical insight, have been used in the churches of this country. Responsive readings have become quite common. In periodicals, books, and ecclesiastical assemblies of non-liturgical churches, liturgical forms have recently found friends and advocates. The *Andover Review* (October, 1884) says editorially that "Public worship in the non-liturgical churches is manifestly gaining in fullness and symmetry." A Presbyterian author in the South, in a volume published a short time ago, says: "The statement is confidently made that there is a movement among several of the denominations in the direction of liturgical services, and it is likely to go much further in the future." * Still more significant were the utterances at the second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance held in Philadelphia in 1880. The Rev. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D., President of Union Theological Seminary, New York, read a paper on "The Ceremonial, the Moral and the Emotional in Christian Life and Worship." Among other things he says:

* Kerr's *The Voice of God in History*.

“ Our Presbyterian baldness is hurting us, is hurting us in many ways which need not be specified. And the hurt is gratuitous, since the cause of it is not one of our old Presbyterian traditions. Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox and the early reformers generally, were liturgists. Even the Westminster Assembly, which was anti-liturgical, set forth its Directory of Worship, which concedes, of course, the liturgical idea. . . . I anticipate a revival of the old Church year. Clear back, close up to the Apostolic times, we find at least Passover, Pentecost and Epiphany. Christmas appears not long after. And then the calendar is crowded rapidly with festivals which disgusted our Protestant fathers, bringing the whole system into disrepute. As between Puritan and Papist, we side, of course, with the Puritan. But the older way is better than either. Judaism had more than its weekly Sabbath; and Christendom needs more. Christmas is leading this new procession. Good Friday, Easter and Whitsuntide are not far behind. These at least can do us no harm. They emphasize the three grand facts and features of our religion: Incarnation, Atonement and Regeneration.” The very able discussion that followed showed a strong liturgical sentiment in the Council. Such facts as these, which might be indefinitely extended, leave no doubt that there is a growing sentiment in favor of a liturgy among the non-liturgical churches of Protestantism.

But this liturgical sentiment in the Presbyterian Church did not mature into visible form until the year 1903, when the General Assembly, at the instance of the Presbyteries of Denver and of New York, appointed a committee “ to take into consideration and if possible to prepare, in harmony with the Directory for Worship, a Book of Simple Forms and Services, which shall be proper and helpful for voluntary use in the Presbyterian churches in the celebration of the Sacraments, in marriages and funerals and in the conduct of public worship.” It was resolved:

“ That in the preparation of these voluntary services the

Committee be instructed to draw from the Holy Scriptures and the usage of the Reformed Churches; to avoid those forms which savor of ritualism; to embody sound doctrine in the language of orderly devotion, and to keep ever in mind the end of Presbyterian worship, which is that all the people should join in the service of God, as he is revealed in Jesus Christ." *

In the year 1905 the Committee finally reported *The Book of Common Worship*, which is for voluntary use, but it has not been largely introduced into Presbyterian churches.

But there is another class of facts and tendencies, now to be considered, which render it absolutely certain that liturgical forms will never again have the elaborateness of the liturgies of the Eastern or of the Mediæval Church. The conditions and causes producing those elaborate forms, as presented in previous chapters, can not flourish in the Protestant Church of America. That this is a practical age is a trite remark; but it is an important truth, which throws much light on existing tendencies in the Church. The power of tradition and superstition is broken; and every institution is carefully examined on its merits. If it can not justify its existence on the ground of utility, it is, in spite of its venerable antiquity, resolutely laid aside. In recent years this practical tendency has been very active, not only in the mechanic arts, but also in science, government, education and religion. The methods of church work have been modified and expanded to suit the new conditions of modern life. In the presence of this practical tendency, no liturgy that does not obviously minister to the edification and growth of the Church can successfully establish itself.

Apart from the practical tendency of the age, the Gospel is now understood to be, not simply a matter of passive faith, but of active work. The activity of the Church of today in missionary and benevolent enterprises is one of its most distinctive and most honorable features. The Church

* Minutes of the General Assembly, 1903, pp. 113, 114.

is actively engaged in leavening humanity. Missionaries are laboring in every land; and at home, the poor and the ignorant and the unsaved are provided with aid and instruction. In the presence of this Christian activity, which aims at winning the world for Christ, the adoption of an elaborate liturgy can never be looked upon as an end greatly to be desired. Indeed, such a liturgy will appear inconsistent with this spirit of work; and all liturgies, whether long or short, will be relegated to the sphere of *adiaphora*, where they were wisely placed by the early Protestant reformers.

Furthermore, the dogmatic ideas in regard to the priesthood, the sacraments and the Church, which originally gave rise to elaborate liturgies, can never find general acceptance in Protestant Christendom. This is an age of widely diffused intelligence. Intellectual activity is pushing its investigations in every direction. The Bible, with extraordinary facilities for understanding its meaning, is in every hand. The Scriptures were never so generally and so thoroughly understood. The history of the Church, as portrayed by friend and foe, is widely known. Emancipated from an authoritative teaching, which in a former age expected and enforced blind submission, men now read and judge for themselves. In the midst of such circumstances, the sacerdotal pretensions of the ministry will be either scorned or laughed at; and the claim that the visible Church is identical with the kingdom of God, and hence under unerring divine guidance, will be indignantly met with the humiliating facts of its errors, superstition and cruelty in the past.

Again, there is an unmistakable tendency to unity in the Protestant world. In its fundamental principles, the Protestant reformation was the same in all countries. The divisions and antagonisms at present existing are felt more and more to be unwarranted and unevangelical. The doctrinal systems, whose excessive development led to these divisions, are losing something of their rigidity. Fundamental agreement is now being emphasized more than minor

differences. Christian tolerance is steadily gaining ground. In this atmosphere of Christian brotherhood, there is a disinclination to fence in any portion of the Church with an exclusive liturgical wall. Where such tendencies exist, they are, though cloaked in ostensible zeal for the truth, essentially unevangelical, and inimical to the true interests of the Church of Christ.

But more than this. The stern logic of events seems destined to accomplish, before many years, what human blindness and prejudice have so long hindered. Never was the Gospel subject to so many attacks as at the present time. Apparently all the agencies of perdition are rallying for a united effort to work its overthrow. A materialistic science, which dominates a considerable portion of the thinking world by reason of its brilliant and beneficent discoveries, is seeking to undermine the foundations of Christianity. The supernatural is denied. Skepticism is disseminated through sensational fiction and scholarly periodicals. Atheistic social organizations are making war upon the Church and its institutions. Romanism is insidiously but persistently and successfully extending its power. Worldliness and unbelief are invading the Church itself. In the presence of all these dangers, which threaten the Church upon every side, Protestantism has no energies to waste in internal dissensions. It needs to recognize the principle laid down by Christ, that they who are not against us are on our part. Unless the various Protestant bodies draw closer together, they seem destined to perish from the earth. Apart from the spirit of the Gospel, which is love, the instinct of safety will draw or drive the various Protestant bodies closer together. In the face of this tendency, a liturgy which is exclusive by reason of its length and complexity, can not now be largely adopted.

In view of all these facts, it seems sufficiently evident that the liturgies which may be hereafter adopted in the various Protestant churches, will be brief and simple. They will

hardly be new productions, but rather improvements and renovations of the liturgies of the past. The liturgical labors of fifteen hundred years have not been fruitless. There are parts of the old orders that in richness of quality put our modern productions to shame. With a growing liturgical insight, our orders of service will embody the subjective and the objective—the human and the divine—in just proportion. The spiritual will dominate the æsthetic and the sensuous; and simplicity of ceremonial will take the place of spectacular display. The congregation, and not simply a trained choir, will render the service. The leading festivals of the church year will be generally recognized, as commemorating principal events in the Gospel history. But the attempt to keep up an ecclesiastical year alongside of the civil year, will probably be found to savor of the spirit of formalism. Christianity is now regarded, not as something apart from daily life, but as a renovation and sanctification of it. The use of Pericopes will be left optional. They were originally devised as a remedy for clerical ignorance. In this age of wide intelligence, when the pulpit brings the Gospel to bear on all the duties and relations of life, it will be found wisest to place no trammel upon the ministry in the use of the Bible for public instruction. With the disappearance of sacerdotalism and associated doctrines, Christianity can not again become mechanical. The Word in its ethical and spiritual power will remain the center of ordinary public worship. Protestantism is founded on the Scriptures as the source of doctrine and practice. It was through the spoken Word that it achieved its earliest victories; and so long as it remains true to its fundamental principles, it will magnify the Sacred Scriptures as the source of light and life to men.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WORD IN RELATION TO THE OTHER MEANS OF GRACE.

THE place of the Word of God in worship can be rightly discriminated and fixed only in the light of the general doctrine of the means of grace. A brief reminder of this general doctrine, therefore, becomes the proper way to reach a correct understanding of the point involved in this chapter.

1. The doctrine of the means of grace in Protestantism, and especially in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, has been determined, under the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, by the necessary demands of the great fundamental truth of *justification by faith*. This truth, known and emphasized as the "material principle" of the Reformation, because it expressed and forever expresses the essential and decisive thing in God's way of saving men through Jesus Christ, was and remains the central truth about which all the doctrines of salvation have taken shape in the unity and harmony of the Gospel system. The recovery of this fundamental and vital truth of forgiveness and life by grace through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, at once threw full light especially on the nature and office of the means of grace, and quickly smote away the errors, perversions and abuses by which Rome had been falsifying the Gospel and corrupting the Church.

It is needful to recall wherein, particularly, lay the necessity of the Reformation. It arose, not especially from any prevalence of erroneous views of the Trinity, the person of Christ, the atonement, or any of the underlying doctrines of redemption, but from a destructive perversion and falsification of the doctrine of the Church, the ministry and the divine means of bestowing upon men the grace of forgiveness

and salvation provided in the atonement and righteousness of Jesus Christ. The primal fountain of grace in the love of God and redemption by Christ was indeed open, but the channels of its true flow were obstructed and closed. The Church, as a vast hierarchy, asserted for itself complete control of the treasures of salvation and their dispensation to the people. The one Mediator between God and man, who says to all, "Come unto me," was hidden behind a complex system of priestly mediations, offerings, confession, indulgences, penances and work-righteousness. The ministry was turned into an exclusive sacerdotal order, with arrogant claims that denied to men immediate access to the grace of salvation through the alone High Priest of the Christian profession. Faith, wrought by the Holy Ghost through hearing and belief of the Gospel, it was taught, could not at all directly obtain justification or life,* but this was conveyed only by baptism, which, it was declared, conferred it *ex opere operato*, that is, by the mere performance of the rite, *without faith*, provided the person did not offer positive resistance (*obicem opponere*). Faith was only knowledge or a cypher. Papal and priestly usurpations had reduced the people to a merely *passive* relation under the hierarchy that assumed to care for and adjust their spiritual concerns. The preaching of the Gospel was almost wholly silenced. The Church was robbed of the divine Word. The grace of salvation became a thing that was manipulated by external ceremonies, priestly rites, Masses, extreme unction and manifold other ecclesiastical inventions—all conducted, it must be added, under a system of mercenary extortion and oppression. All the parts of the churchly scheme combined to place the individual, not in fellowship with the Redeemer, but at a distance from him. He was made absolutely dependent upon the priestly hierarchy, which was made sole dispenser of the grace of salvation. To this he had to come

* Thomas Aquinas. Council of Trent, Canon De Sacramentis, IV. and VIII. Bellarmin, De Sacramentis, I., 22.

for every grace, though by its added doctrine of "intention," he had to go away without guarantee of any.

The Reformation, therefore, to be effectual, had, of necessity, to overthrow this falsification and perversion of the means of grace, and restore them to the place and purity of their original divine appointment, as *God's own means* for direct exhibition and conveyance of His saving grace to men. And this it accomplished as a necessary consequence of the full restoration of the great truth of *free justification by faith alone*. As "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God" (Rom. x. 17), this, in connection with the reassertion of the universal priesthood of believers, at once smote away the system of priestly mediations and opened immediate access of the individual soul to the divine Saviour. And hence in the Lutheran Christo-centric and evangelical theology, this great truth of forgiveness and life through faith alone, a living faith wrought by the Holy Spirit through the Word of God, became the all-determining and testing truth in the whole doctrine of the application of redemption. True faith, not as mere knowledge or a passive assent to the general truth of the Gospel, but as living confidence of the heart obediently reposing on the work and promises of Christ, became clearly the one and only essential thing for the reception of saving blessings offered in the means of grace. The priestly claim of power to confer grace without faith (*ex opere operato*) was broken. Neither Word nor sacrament, nor absolution, nor Church, can save without faith, but only in and through faith—the Word and the sacraments being, nevertheless, real, energetic, grace-bearing means, though not irresistible, through which, in the Holy Ghost, the grace of salvation is offered, and bestowed upon those that believe.

The unspeakable importance of the true and evangelical view of the means of grace is apparent from the vital relation it thus sustains to the possession and maintenance of the pure Gospel of salvation and the purity of the Church. If

justification by faith is "the article of a standing or falling church," the doctrine of the means of grace is the article by which the truth of justification by faith is either kept or lost. And wherever the distinction, made so clearly by Luther and his co-reformers, between the Church as *visible* and *invisible* is repudiated, and union with the outward Church is made synonymous with spiritual union with Christ; wherever the ministry is exalted into a special class or order with priestly character and mediatorial functions, to the derogation of the universal priesthood of believers, and sacramental efficacy is emphasized above the Word for dispensing the grace of adoption and regeneration, there is a facing Romeward in partial retraction, or, at least, obscurity, of the full, pure doctrine of free justification by faith.

2. The designation, "the means of grace," in this relation, is to be taken in its specific theological sense, and restricted to the Word and the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. There is, indeed, a popular sense of the expression which makes it include also all the various acts and exercises of faith, love, prayer, Christian fellowship, meditation, benevolent work, endurance of afflictions and use of privileges. These things are indeed means of spiritual strength and growth in grace.

"All common things, each day's events,
That with the hour begin and end,
Our pleasures and our discontents,
Are rounds by which we may ascend."

But the question in this chapter calls for a limitation of the designation to its strictly theological reference. And there are clear differences between the two senses that justify such special appropriation of the term to the Word and sacraments. For these, as is apparent, are external or objective, while the spiritual exercises mentioned are internal, belonging to the subjective life of the believer. And, further, the Word and sacraments are manifestly *God's means toward us*, while our prayers, and faith, and active endeavor

ors, are our means toward God. The use in this restricted sense is therefore intended to hold our view distinctively to those things which God has appointed and ordained as his own means in which he comes to us in the light and power and grace of salvation.

Means, in this special and high sense, are necessitated by the very nature of the relations of men as under an economy of provided mercy, forgiveness, regeneration and sanctification. Beyond the Father's gift of the Son, and the Son's high-priestly work, making atonement for the sins of the world, and the mission of the Holy Spirit, some settled modes or ways are manifestly requisite to make known, offer and effectually apply to men the provided saving grace. They are not saved by the mere opening of the "new and living way." Nor are they dealt with as blocks and stones. They are recovered to obedience and holiness through the free consent of their hearts and wills. And the great law for redemption's passing into real effect—so fixed as to form the condition of salvation—is: "By grace are ye saved through faith" (Eph. ii. 8). "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that *whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have everlasting life*" (John iii. 16). "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not on the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John iii. 36). "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved" (Acts xvi. 31). "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth" (Rom. x. 4). "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness" (Rom. x. 10). The office of the means of grace, therefore, becomes at once evident in their appointment as the Holy Spirit's media or ways for showing the things of Christ to men and working in them a true and obedient faith, through which forgiveness and renewal may be bestowed upon them, saving them from their sins. In this is found both their necessity and their use. "The consummation and glorification of the work of

Jesus Christ on earth is followed, in the power of the Holy Spirit, by the diffusion of its blessings among the nations, the appropriation of his sacrifice, the dispensing of his merits, the communication of his righteousness and grace by the means of grace prescribed by him in the fellowship of his Church; for, as it is written: Thus it behooved Christ to suffer; and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations (Luke xxiv. 46, 47).'' *

3. Each one of these, viz., the Word of God, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is *a real means of grace*. By virtue of their divine appointment, and especially by the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit, who in special sense is the divine agent in applying redemption, they are endowed with a real efficacy or sufficiency of divine energy or momentum for salvation, if not resisted. These means are not empty or without force and intrinsic adaptation to their end, but divinely appointed bearers of God's provided grace of salvation wherever they find receptive and willing hearts. In and through them, on the basis of the full redeeming provision in Jesus Christ and in the Holy Ghost, God comes to men, making known, presenting and dispensing the fullness of saving grace. And each one is constituted thus a means in its own place and way. They are such because they are always and forever the constituted media in and through whose administration and use, in constant presence and love, the Holy Spirit operates in calling, working of faith and quickening. Thus, for example, the Gospel is charged with supernatural power, not simply because it sets forth the Christ in the fullness of his redemption, but because the Holy Spirit is ever in its message as truly as heat is in the fire or sunbeam. He has incorporated his own power in it. For the word of the Gospel is in fact and truth, whenever administered, the Holy Spirit's own voice or message, uniting the power of the truth, as such, with his own power in one energy and opera-

* Sartorius, Doc. Divine Love, Sec. 3, Ch. ii.

tion. It is thus that the Word is said to be a *living* and *active* Word (1 Pet. i. 23; Heb. iv. 12).

The same is to be understood as true of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the sacraments. In the economy of the Comforter (Παράκλητος, Helper), he is the agent using and working in and through *all* the means for men's salvation. "As Christ fulfilled the will and work of the Father upon earth, so does the Holy Spirit administer the will and work of Christ in the human soul." * He is in all by and in the Word, which forms a constituent of the sacraments. And thus these sacraments as truly as the Word are not mere signs or symbols of grace, but are truly exhibitivè and administrative means for bestowing the grace promised in connection with them.

4. It is to be borne in mind, further, that the Word and the sacraments exhibit and bestow the same grace. While each is a means of special grace, in mode and degree, it is in no *exclusive* sense or as meaning non-communication of the same grace by the other means. And the common grace thus set forth and bestowed, in its aggregate, must be regarded as all that effects and gives full personal, spiritual salvation according to the great design of redemption, viz., justification and adoption, regeneration and sanctification. The accomplishment of all this in men's personal experience and character involves a progressive movement through the various stages of calling, illumination, repentance, faith, renewal and advancing holiness of heart and life, till made meet for the eternal inheritance.

This divine appointment of the different means for the bestowal of the same grace is the standard teaching of the Lutheran Church. The Apology to the Augsburg Confession says: "Just as the Word enters the ears in order to strike hearts, so the rite itself meets the eyes to move hearts. The effect of the Word and of the rite is the same, as it has been well said by Augustine that the sacrament is a 'visible

* Luthardt, Saving Truths, Lect. VI.

Word,' because the rite is received by the eyes, and is, as it were, a picture of the Word signifying the same thing as the Word. Wherefore the effect of both is the same." *

Chemnitz, one of the greatest of the Lutheran theologians, gives emphasis to this truth when he says: "The Apology to the Confession correctly declares that the effect, the virtue or efficacy of the Word, and of the sacraments which are the seals of promise, is the same. . . . As, therefore, the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, not because there is any magical force in the letters, syllables or sound of the words, but because it is the means, organ or instrument by which the Holy Spirit is efficacious, proposing, offering, presenting, distributing and applying the merit of Christ and the grace of God to the salvation of every one that believeth; so also is the power and efficacy attributed to the sacraments, not because saving grace is to be sought in the sacraments above and beyond the merit of Christ, the mercy of the Father, and the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, but that the sacraments are instrumental causes in this way, that through these means or organs the Father desires to be present, bestow and apply his grace, the Son to communicate his merit to believers, and the Holy Ghost to exercise his efficacy for the salvation of every one that believeth."

To the question why God employs a two-fold means to communicate the same blessings, Chemnitz answers: "God who is rich in mercy desires to present his grace to us not only in one way, that is, by the mere Word, but he desires also to help our infirmity by certain aids, namely, by the sacraments, instituted and annexed to the promise of the Gospel. . . . In this way the sacraments are, in respect to us, signs *confirming our faith in the promise of the Gospel*; in respect to God, they are organs or instruments through which God in the Word presents, applies, seals, confirms and increases and preserves the grace of the Gospel promise

in believers. The grace exhibited in the Word is not different from that exhibited in the sacraments; the promise in the Gospel is not different from that in the sacraments; but the grace is the same, and the Word one and the same, except that in the sacraments the Word is rendered visible, as it were, on account of our infirmity, by signs divinely appointed."

The great distinguishing peculiarity of the sacraments is thus their unique *individualization* of their subjects. In them God comes to the individual person and offers and seals to him the blessings promised in sacramental Word or Word made visible. They carry the assurance of the remission of sins, and the grace of spiritual renovation to the longing, it may be trembling, faith of each believer separately and personally, God saying to him: "I have loved *thee*, and redeemed thee to be mine." To the question of the soul seeing the provided salvation through the general offer of the Word, "Is this provision for me individually?" the sacraments are a specific and immediate divine reply. As means in the hands of the Holy Ghost for awakening and invigorating faith, the sacraments are thus of great and divine value. Though they present and administer the same grace as does the Word, they do so with this feature of emphasizing it to the individual soul, under covenant pledge and seal. In this Chemnitz well finds, in view of the great infirmity of our faith, one reason for the *necessity* of the sacraments. *

5. The doctrine of the means of grace, moreover, basing its affirmations on the Holy Scriptures, teaches that the Word is the *primary and comprehensive means*, and that the *power and efficacy of the sacraments are through the Word*. By universal consent among us, it is *constitutive* for the sacraments. The divine reality is expressed in Augustine's statement: "The Word is added to the element, and a sacrament is formed." The Word is thus the effective cause

* Ex. C. Trid., II., 30.

for the sacramental character of both Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Apart from the divine words of institution, and their use, water is mere water and no baptism, and bread and wine are but bread and wine, and no eucharist. They are *created* by the Word. And through its promises they convey the grace of forgiveness and life. Luther explains the objection of the Anabaptists to the idea of forgiveness of sins through baptism by reminding that they were separating forgiveness from the *Word* in the sacrament—affirming against their fanaticism that forgiveness can be found only in the *Word*, and that because the *Word is in Baptism* and *in the Holy Supper*, these offer and administer forgiveness.* Luthardt says of the Word: "It brings with it those accompaniments which God has ordained to *assist its operation*, and to help the weakness of our faith, viz., the sacraments."† Sartorius declares: "It is in *virtue of the divine Word* a sacred washing which sanctifies and purifies the baptized to a new and spiritual life in the Church of the Lord."‡

6. It is necessary to bring out distinctly, yet, the truth, already implied and incidentally expressed, that neither the Word nor the sacraments confer grace apart from *faith*, or *ex opere operato*. This is a direct corollary from the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith as the ruling material principle in the order of salvation. "We condemn," says the Apology to the Confession, "the whole crowd of scholastic doctors who teach that the sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*."§ The Lutheran Church, as was absolutely necessary in order to complete the Reformation and maintain in purity the truth of justification by *faith*, repudiated with emphasis this corrupt and corrupting teaching of Rome, and maintained that while the *validity* of the sacraments is altogether independent of faith, the reception

* House Postil, on Gospel for XIX. Sunday after Trinity.

† Saving Truths, Lect. IX.

‡ Doctrine of Holy Love, Sec. 3, Chap. iii.

§ Chap. vii., 18. See also Smalkald Art. III., Part I., 9.

of their spiritual *benefits* is dependent on it, and that thus *non sacramentum, sed fides sacramenti justificat*. And the faith thus required, through which alone they produce their spiritual fruits, is affirmed to be, not mere intellectual belief or non-resistance (*obicem non opponere* of the Roman Catholics), but a real evangelical faith,* as obedient *trust*, and this faith, moreover, “*special faith* which believes the present promise.”

This need of faith as the condition and order of true reception of the saving grace offered and sealed in the sacraments, is made evident and explained by the two divine truths already brought to view—that the Word and the sacraments offer and communicate the same grace, and that the sacraments have their power under the Holy Spirit in and through the Word, and accomplish their work through it. That the Word itself, so mighty as the Holy Spirit’s means, does not confer the grace of salvation *ex opere operato*, or without faith, is unquestionable and everywhere conceded. Not mixed with faith in them that hear it, it does not profit in the sense of saving effect, Heb. iv. 2. Its administration even in the form called absolution, has not an *opus operatum* efficacy. And since the power in the sacraments, as media of the saving dispensations of Him who is the “Spirit of truth,” is the power of the word of promise they exhibit, they act under the same law of faith: “Whosoever believeth shall be saved.” And thus, while as visible words, and as singling men in a divine approach to each one in particular with an assurance set in God’s own seal, they are surpassingly impressive and helpful for the faith they call for and seek to confirm, the Lutheran Church, in full accord with the teaching of the Scriptures, repudiates the notion that they work *ex opere operato*, or bestow the grace of salvation except to and through faith.

7. All this makes plain the deep foundation of Scripture teaching and theological truth upon which the Lutheran

* Augs. Conf., Art. V., Smalkald Arts., Part III., Art. XIII., 1.

Church has always given the *first and chief place* to "*the Word*," as read and preached in worship. It is demanded by the necessary implications of the ruling principle of justification by faith, and by the need of thoroughly repudiating and overthrowing Rome's falsification and perversion of the sacraments under unscriptural claims for a priestly hierarchy and magically efficient ordinances.

The Scriptures lay the chief stress on the Word (Isa. lv. 11; Luke viii. 5-18; 1 Cor. i. 17), attributing to it under the Holy Spirit each and every part in the movement through which the provisions of redemption become effectual in the salvation of men, from its beginning in illumination (1 Pet. i. 19; 2 Tim. iii. 15; 1 John v. 11), through repentance (Acts ii. 37), faith (Rom. x. 17), regeneration (1 Pet. i. 23; James i. 18), sanctification (John xvii. 17) and salvation (Rom. i. 16; 2 Tim. iii. 15; Acts x. 34-37). It is immediately evident that in the Church's worship, where redemption is to be caused to pass into the personal experience of men, the Word, as the means which is at once the Holy Spirit's instrument in accomplishing each and all the parts of the work and the means *in* all means, should have primacy and ruling place.

The Reformation movement in which the preaching of the Gospel, as well as the reading of the Word, was restored to the chief place in Protestant worship, and especially in the Lutheran Church, presents a clear and self-consistent history.

Luther's tract: "Of the Order of the Divine Service in the Congregation," found in a preceding chapter, was written in 1523, with a direct view to a restoration of the preaching of the Gospel to its true position in the service.

In the German Mass prepared by him in 1525, he still more emphatically asserts the place of preaching: "In the divine service, the greatest and most important part is the preaching and teaching of God's Word."

In his commentary on Dan. viii., in stating the marks of

the Church, as the Gospel, Baptism and the Bread (Eucharist), he writes: "The Gospel is the one surest, noblest sign of the Church, far surer than Baptism and the Bread; because alone through the Gospel are these conceived, made, nourished, born, brought up, clothed, adorned, strengthened and maintained. In short, the whole life and character of the Church depends upon the Word of God, as Christ says in Matt. iv. 4: 'Man shall live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'"

In another place (Works, Erlangen, Vol. XXII., p. 151) he writes: "Upon any one on whom the office of preaching is laid, is laid the highest office in Christendom. He may thus also baptize, administer the Lord's Supper and all pastoral care; or if otherwise he wishes, he may abide in preaching alone, and leave to others baptism and other offices, as did St. Paul and the Apostles."

The Lutheran Church soon became the Church of revived and grand preaching of the Gospel, restoring the Word to its divine appointment as the power of God unto salvation. The principle thus involved as the determinative principle of worship, entered into the orders of service provided for the congregations everywhere.

Luthardt says: "The chief means of grace in the Church is the preached Word, which through its testimony in regard to sin (the law) and grace (the Gospel), is fitted to work penitent obedience of faith, and to serve the Holy Spirit to this end, in proportion as it is a true expression of the salvation that is in Christ, *i. e.*, is scriptural.

"In the Scriptures the Word has fundamental significance. Already in the Old Testament all progress in the history of salvation rests on the Word and faith. Also in the New Testament the Word is from the very beginning the form of revelation (Heb. ii. 3); and the historical facts of salvation then clothe themselves in the Word of Apostolic preaching, as the necessary means of faith (see the case of Cornelius, Acts x. 3 seq.), Rom. x. 14, 17 ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς.

Therefore Jesus points out this as the calling of the Apostles (*μαρτυρεῖν, κηρύσσειν*), and promises them the Holy Spirit. Preaching is the first activity of the newly-founded Church, Acts ii. It is more important than baptizing, 1 Cor. i. 17." *

As to the teaching of the Church on this subject, Luthardt continues: "Although preaching was rhetorically developed in the Greek Church, and in the Church of the Middle Ages was used with great success by a few celebrated preachers, in the Roman Church after Trent it was brought into greater prominence in the cultus; yet here it fell decidedly into the background as compared with the sacraments. On the contrary, the Reformation placed the Word, both of Scripture and of preaching in the Church, in the foreground. Luther exalts it above everything as 'an almighty power, so powerful a thing that it can do and perform everything;' 'it accomplishes all things;' 'it brings forgiveness of sins,' etc., 'it brings Christ with it—therefore, whoever embraces and holds it embraces and holds Christ, and thus through the Word has eternal deliverance from death.' 'The Holy Spirit, himself, uses it.' 'We speak of the external Word preached orally by men.' " †

"When the evangelist sought the most comprehensive, the fullest expression for Jesus Christ, he called him simply 'The Word,' John i. 1. That is to say, he is the absolute revelation. In him God has laid up and expressed to us his whole heart, his whole will toward us. He who is the substance of the Old Testament and the soul of the New, is simply the Word, the absolute revelation of God. The form, however, of his revelation and the means of his agency, was again the *Word*, into which he inwrought his very being. . . . Preaching was the chief occupation of Christ during his earthly life, and he appointed preaching to be the chief duty of his disciples after his ascension. Preaching was the office of the great prophets of the Old Testament;

* Kompendium der Dogmatik.

† Pp. 322, 323.

preaching was the business of Christ's Apostles; the religions of the ancient world and their opposition to Christianity were overcome by the power of preaching; and the history of the Church has told us of many who wielded this sword of the Spirit with wide-reaching effect. Preaching is a heart-stirring, a world-stirring power. Luther's preaching introduced and long gave tone to a new era, while at the same time it kindled a new light and life in the souls of individuals, and poured into the minds of the desponding the consolations of divine grace. Hence, our Church has, above all others, designated and treated preaching as the chief matter in public worship." *

Equally clear is the teaching of Sartorius: "The *first*, and most important of the means of grace, is the *Word of God*, in the two-fold form of law and Gospel, or the doctrine of faith and morals. The Word, or, which is the same thing, the revelation of God, in its original, most pure and most holy form, is the Scripture itself. . . . The word of God, however; is not to be found merely in the inspired Scriptures; it is also at hand in the Christian Church, and in various forms of derivation from its source. As such we have above all, the oral preaching of the Word in worshiping assemblies, the catechisation of the youth, spiritual conversation and books of Christian instruction and devotion of various kinds." †

8. As a necessary conclusion from this unquestionably chief place assigned to the preaching of the Gospel and the reading of the Scriptures, the Word in its administration and use rightly rules the whole service and subordinates every other part. In spoken or visible form it is the core of all, and sums up as it creates and pervades all. It is not an inferior or subsidiary part, falling below the highest ascent of divine worship. In its prime or oral form it stands, by the order of divine constitution, as cause to effect in the pro-

* Luthardt's *Saving Truths*, pp. 266, 268.

† *Person and Work of Christ*, Chap. ix.

duction and constitution of the sacraments. All parts, therefore, even the sacraments, are, when rightly ordered, arranged about the Word in this specific and distinct sense. Though the sacraments by their visible form and individual appropriation are, as means, divinely precious and impressive for faith, they yet set forth and administer only the same grace that under the Holy Spirit is set forth and administered through the proclamation of the Gospel. A summit in them, as asserted by Löhe and some others, higher than that of the Word, is not perceptible in the light of the Scriptures or the pure Lutheran theology. The Word therefore is to determine and rule the whole service and the architecture of the Church.

9. Quite decisive, moreover, are all the facts, thus made plain, against the propriety of the term "sacramental," as the comprehensive designation of all the objective means of grace—a terminology introduced by Kliefoth and followed by some others. It violates the truth by drawing the common designation from that which is not the centre and core of the means of grace, and shadows the Word of God out of view or recognition, subordinating it to the sacraments. It is untrue to the Protestant conception of the means of grace, and is allied rather to the Roman Catholic conceptions of sacramental efficacy and priestly administration of saving grace. Its use carries an element of danger to the pure truth of justification by faith.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MINISTRY IN RELATION TO WORSHIP.

DIFFERENT conceptions of the powers and functions of the pastor in public worship arise necessarily out of the differences of fundamental view in regard to the Church and the ministry. Diverse practice is a reflex of diverse theories. The minister's part and rights in the service will be changed as the underlying idea of the Church itself, and of the whole ministerial office is changed. And he who is familiar with the special tendencies in the doctrines as differently held on the great points of ecclesiastical polity is easily able, whenever practice is observed, to read the doctrines in the form and type and spirit of the sanctuary service. The fountain is recognized in the stream. The liturgy stands as an index of the particular ideas marking the different ecclesiastical conceptions and systems.

The great Reformation of the sixteenth century that, by the restoration of the pure Gospel of justification by faith, revolutionized Rome's false teaching concerning the Church and priesthood, compelled also a reconstruction of the *cultus*, and put the minister in different relations to the sanctuary service. It defined anew his functions and activities. The aim of this chapter, therefore, obliges us to recall in some measure the leading features of the several different views maintained concerning the Church and the ministry.

1. The Roman Catholic view looks upon the Church as a grand visible organization, consisting essentially in a priestly hierarchy, whose ranks culminate in the pope of Rome as the infallible vicar of Christ, with complete powers of government and administration of grace to men. It allows no distinction between the Church as visible and invis-

ible, but looks upon the visible organization as marking out the boundary between the saved and the lost. The external organism through *ex opere operato* sacraments, effectuates for its members a saving communion with Christ, while outside of its pale there is no union with him, and no saving work of the Holy Spirit. Bellarmin says: "There is only one Church, not two, and that one and true Church is a company of men bound together by the profession of the same faith, and by communion of the same sacraments, and under the government of legitimate pastors, and especially of the Roman pontiff, Christ's only vicar on earth. From which definition it can easily be inferred who belong to the Church and who do not belong to it. For there are three parts of this definition—profession of the true faith, communion of sacraments, and subjection to the legitimate pastor, the Roman pontiff. By reason of the first part, all unbelievers are excluded, both those who never were in the Church, as Jews, Turks and pagans, and those who have been, but have departed, as heretics and apostates. By reason of the second part, catechumens and the excommunicated are excluded, since the former have not been admitted to the communion of the sacraments, and the latter have been dismissed therefrom. By reason of the third part, schismatics are excluded, who have faith and sacraments, but are not in subjection to the legitimate pastor, and therefore profess faith and receive sacraments without. But included are all others, though they are reprobate, criminal and impious. And there is this difference between our opinion and all others, that all others require interior virtues for constituting any one within the Church, and moreover make the true Church invisible; but even if we believe that all virtues are found in the Church, faith, hope, charity and the rest, nevertheless we do not think that in order that any one may be called absolutely a part of the true Church, concerning which the Scriptures speak, any interior virtue is required, but only an external profession of faith and a communion

of the sacraments, which is perceived by the sense itself. For the Church is a company of men, just as visible and palpable as is the company of the Roman people or the kingdom of France, or the Republic of the Venetians." *

With this agrees the explanation given by the Rev. Mgr. Schroeder, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Catholic University of America: "The Church is a society, a perfect society, a visible society. Its unity is unity in the faith, and also a social unity. The pope is both the centre and principle of unity. He is the principle of unity in the faith; all Catholics owe the obedience *of faith* to all his doctrinal decisions. But he is at the same time the pastor and supreme ruler of the Church; he has full and entire jurisdiction over all its members, and all owe a true obedience to his orders and his directions. . . . The pope is equally the high priest of the Church; it is to him that belongs the supreme power of regulating all that relates to worship. It is thus that he announces the jubilee, that he accords indulgences as privileges, that he prescribes common practices of piety, certain prayers, etc. . . . The pope and the Episcopate united to him, whether they be assembled in a Council or not, are the *subjects* of the infallibility of the Church; they form the *Ecclesia Docens*." † Another Roman Catholic writer adds: "Every Catholic who wishes to save his soul must sit at the feet of Christ in his mystical body, the Church, accepting his teaching with childlike docility, and receiving the streams of divine grace which flow from his cradle and cross through prayer and the sacraments." ‡

This view of the Church, carrying along with it a corresponding doctrine of the ministry, involves at least four distinct co-ordinate conceptions, viz: 1. The Church consists essentially, not of the body of believers, but of the organism of the hierarchy to which the congregations stand attached. 2. This hierarchy forms a self-perpetuating, priestly *order*

* De Concil. et Eccl. Militante, Lib. III., Cap. 3.

† New York Independent, March 10, 1892.

‡ Mervin Marie Snell, of the same University, in same paper.

or *caste*, independent of the body of believers, and holding in and of itself full and perpetual and exclusive authority of rulership, administration and judgment.* 3. This priestly class, with a system of prelacy culminating in the pope, as a *sacerdotium* and *magisterium*, are the custodians of all saving grace, and fulfill their functions in a mediating capacity through channels of sacraments of which they hold exclusive possession. † 4. As the clergy thus rule and administer in an exclusive priesthood, disallowing the universal priesthood of believers, or their *immediate* access to God for offering the Christian sacrifices of praise and worship, the people are reduced to the condition of merely passive subjects of priestly care and administration. 5. The liturgical order and construction of the various parts of worship, necessarily taking shape under these doctrines of Church and priesthood, present a complete annulment of the freedom of the congregations, as well as a rupture of their right of direct approach to God in sacrifices of prayer and praise through Jesus Christ, the alone Mediator between God and men. They are permitted to worship simply as spectators, or as submissive subjects of forms prescribed and conducted for them by an autocratic hierarchy—a worship that keeps them in obedient fellowship *directly* with the Church and its priesthood, and thus only *mediately*, if at all, with the Redeemer, whose divine mediatorship is obscured, if not wholly displaced.

It is transparently plain that the priest's relation to public worship, and his place and part in it, are in this teaching quite different from those assigned the minister by Protestant theology. Equally apparent is it that the Roman hierarchical, priestly, spectacular worship is not reflected in the simple, free, spiritual worship mentioned in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

2. Protestantism in its recovery of the pure Gospel and

*Council of Trent, Sess. XXIII., Chap. iii.

† Ibid.

the way of salvation through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have immediate access unto the Father, and in its overthrow of the hierarchical and priestly conception of the Church and ministry, places the Christian pastor before his congregation in quite other spirit, and with different conception of his authority and duties.

The Lutheran doctrine of the Church, and of the ministry, with which the Reformed churches are in essential agreement as over against Rome, lays the foundation of its whole view in declaring: "The Church is the congregation of saints (assembly of all believers), in which the Gospel is rightly preached, and the sacraments are rightly administered." *

This affirmation conceives of it in its visible form, as marked by the administration of the objective means of grace, and it at once and completely repudiates the conception of a hierarchical Church, dispensing grace to men, and makes the Church consist of the collective body of believers themselves, as organized in the use and fellowship of the means of grace. "The Church is established, brought together, nourished and preserved by the Word of God and the use of sacraments."† The ministers are themselves part of this congregation—as conditional for being placed in office in it, and when in office. The fundamental relationship in which the whole body of believers composing "the Church," stand to each other, is that fixed by the Saviour's own words: "*All ye are brethren.*" No mastership of a class or caste is to be asserted—none to be allowed. The eminences are attained in service only. The Church is not to be thought of as an organism of mastership and dispensation set *over* believers, but *is* the body of believers, of which Christ himself and alone is the Head, the Master and the Fountain of grace.

The Church, however, is necessarily viewed, and really

* Augs. Conf., Art. VII.

† Gerhard, *Loci*, Cotta's Ed., Vol. XII., p. 195.

exists, under a twofold aspect—as *visible* and *invisible*, as already mentioned. For in the visible body, organized in the ministry of the Word and the use of the sacraments according to Scripture teaching, whether in local congregations or the universal Church, there are always found some that are not really and spiritually of it. Unbelieving and wicked men are in it. The net has taken some bad fish. The tares have been sown by the enemy among the wheat. Simon Magus is there, though with no part or lot in the salvation which the Church stands for. Hence Luther at once, in explaining how the Church can be believed as “holy” calls attention to the deeper sense and application of the term, as denoting the *invisible* reality beyond the outward organization, the reality of spiritual union with Christ in which the Church of *faith* is more exactly realized: “We rightly confess in the article of our belief that we believe a holy Church; for it is *invisible*, dwelling in spirit in a place none can attain unto, and therefore her holiness cannot be seen; for God doth so hide and cover her with infirmities, with sins, with errors, with divers forms of the cross and offenses, that according to the judgment of reason it is nowhere to be seen. They that are ignorant of this, when they see the infirmities and sins of those who are baptized, who have the words and believe it, by and by are offended. . . . But thus we teach that the Church hath no spot nor wrinkle, but is holy, and yet only through faith in Jesus Christ.”* And Melancthon declares: “The Church is not only the fellowship of outward objects and rites, as other governments, but is principally a *fellowship of faith and the Holy Ghost in hearts*. . . . And this Church alone is called the body of Christ; because Christ renews, sanctifies and governs it by his Spirit. . . . Although, therefore, hypocrites and wicked men are members of the true Church according to outward rites, yet when the Church is defined, it is necessary to define that which is the

* On Gal. v. 19.

living body of Christ, and is likewise the Church both in name and reality." * As Melancthon here explains, the eighth article of the Confession had already assumed the distinction between the wider and stricter conceptions of the Church.

The distinction between the Church as *visible* and the Church as *invisible* has been thoroughly incorporated into Lutheran theology, in order to conform its view to the teaching of the Scriptures and the facts of experience in Christendom. Neander well points out that it was not derived from the Reformed Church,† but is native and vital in the Lutheran teaching. For while the Church must of necessity present Christianity as organic in a visible fellowship of believers in the Word and sacraments, and with proper government and provisions for good order, both the Scriptures and experience show that many connected with it are without real faith or the truly regenerate life, and not, therefore, part of that body savingly joined to Jesus Christ, and that will be presented without spot or blemish. This results necessarily from the fact that the means of grace do not operate as an *opus operatum*, and make effectual in men the grace of salvation irresistibly or apart from a real, appropriating, vital, regulative faith. And all Protestant theology, basing itself upon the infallible warrant of the Word of God, has felt itself necessitated to make and maintain this distinction with clearness and firm emphasis, in order both to assert and vindicate in its purity and integrity the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, and also to guard against the sloth-producing and immoral influence of the Roman dogma of the *ex opere operato* efficacy of the sacraments, and the identifying of external membership in the visible Church with saving spiritual union with Christ.

Though the Reformed Church has accepted essentially

* Apol. Conf., IV., 5, 12.

† Hist. of Dogmas, p. 687. (Bohn's Ed.)

the same definition of the Church, there has been in it a tendency to a somewhat different development. This is toward a relatively greater stress upon the *invisible* Church, and a diminished valuation of the visible organization and its given means of grace. The wild extremes of the Anabaptists in the Reformation era, in their separation of the Holy Spirit's work from the Church and the Word, brought Luther and his immediate associates face to face with the danger of a false spiritualism and disintegration of the outward organism of the Church. The strong emphasis with which they opposed that fanaticism became a permanent emphasis upon the importance of the visible Church and the objective means of grace. "At an earlier period," says Neander, "the opposition against the externalism of the idea in the Catholic Church was the principal point kept in view; *now* the importance of the visible Church claimed to be acknowledged."* Though the Reformed Church has been in fundamental accord with the Lutheran teaching as to the divine institution of the visible Church, it has guarded less securely against an undervaluation of the external organism in its relation to spiritual work and spiritual life. The Holy Spirit's operations and saving action have been less closely connected with the Church's ministry of the means of grace. The relation of the visible Church as the proper and divinely appointed means for the gathering, edification and sanctification of the spiritual or mystical body of Christ, the invisible Church, is allowed to be more loosely viewed, the real spiritual life being but indifferently connected with the external organization. The guards are placed less strongly against independency and individualism. The way is opened, not, indeed, to an excessive, but to a one-sided spiritualism and spurious subjectivism. The Church is more easily exposed to the danger from divisive and disintegrating influences, inconsistent with its best unity, integrity and efficiency. It is not difficult to see that, so far as

* Hist. of Dogmas, p. 687.

there is such relaxation of emphasis upon the importance of the Church and its given means of grace, it may change the conception and place of the minister in public worship.

3. The Lutheran doctrine of the *ministry*, as well as of the Church, becomes determinative of the pastor's relations to and in worship. This doctrine views the ministry as a divinely * instituted office within the Church, and belonging to the Church. The great object of the office is that men may be brought to faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit through the means of grace.† It is a ministry of preaching or public teaching, with included administration of the sacraments and of discipline. As man is to live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, its great and distinguishing work, as has already been pointed out, is, by preaching the Gospel, both to "feed the Church of God" and to evangelize the world. And it needs to be particularly borne in mind, that the ministry is no independently self-perpetuating caste or order of men, appointed over the Church or congregation for either mediatorial dispensation of grace or autocratic government. While it may not be properly said to arise out of the Church, it is yet an *office* divinely appointed *in* the Church, for the administration of the means of grace also committed to the Church. "The power of the Keys, or the power of Bishops," says the Augsburg Confession, "is accomplished only by teaching or preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments, either to many or to single individuals, according to their call."‡ But this is by no means a peculiar and exclusive right of the clergy as a *class* or *order*; for, as the Smalkald Articles teach: "It is necessary to confess that the Keys pertain not to the person of a particular man, but *to the Church*, as many most clear and firm arguments testify. For Christ, speaking concerning the Keys (Matt.

* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xii. 28; 2 Cor. v. 18; Eph. v. 11; Acts xiv. 23; 1 Tim. iii. 1-7; 2 Tim. ii. 2; Titus i. 5.

† Augs. Conf., Art. V.

‡ Art. XXIII., 5, 8.

xviii. 19), adds: 'If two of you shall agree, etc.' Therefore he ascribes the Keys to the whole Church, *principally and immediately*; just as also for this reason the Church has principally the right of calling." * "For wherever the Church is, there also is the authority to administer the Gospel. Wherefore it is necessary for the Church to retain the authority to call, elect and ordain ministers. And this authority is a gift exclusively given to the Church, which no human power can wrest from the Church, as Paul also testifies to the Ephesians (iv. 8), when he says: 'He ascended, He gave gifts to men.' And he enumerates among the gifts especially belonging to the Church, 'pastors and teachers,' and adds that such are given for the ministry, for the 'edifying of the body of Christ.' " † This view of the ministry, which is substantially the common view of Protestantism, though modified in the Anglican or Episcopal Church, not only rejects the whole conception that makes it a class *sacerdotium* and a hierarchical *magisterium*, but asserts that as a *ministerium* it is an office instituted by God *within* the Church as the body of believers, for the administration of the Word and sacraments, which also have been committed to the Church itself.

And all this is accurately and beautifully adjusted to the great truth of the *universal priesthood* of believers. The typical and prophetic work of the Old Testament sacerdotal class being all taken up, accomplished and absorbed in the atoning work of Jesus Christ on the cross and in mediation in the Holy of Holies in heaven, the alone High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, there is now no place for an atoning priesthood on earth; and the only priesthood now left in the Church on earth is the common and universal one of evermore offering the spiritual sacrifices of praise, prayer, self-consecration and love. The name priest (*ιερευς*) does not at all emerge among the terms of New Testament Church officers. Since Jesus has entered within the veil for

* Appendix, 22.

† Appendix, 67.

us, abiding a High Priest forever, the "veil" is rent away, and worshipers stand, through Him, in the open and immediate presence of God, presenting themselves in living self-surrender and service; and to all Christians comes the word: "Ye are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ . . . Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood." *

Guericke accurately states this great truth: "Through Christ the reconciliation of God with man has been effected, once for all men, and thus all which had been prefigured and prepared for, by the entire ante-Christian priesthood, was now realized in the fullest manner. Hence the idea of the common priesthood of all Christians was the necessary accompaniment of the Gospel. All believers became by baptism and the Holy Ghost a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, and all of them were immediately united with Christ, the eternal High Priest and only Head of his Church. Hence, in the Christian system, the priestly function is not limited, as in other religions, to a single hereditary class, or to a close and self-electing corporation." † This is in accord with the statement of Gerhard: "This type of the Levitical priesthood has already been completed in Christ, the only Priest of the New Testament; for offering himself on the altar of the Cross, by one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified. *Therefore in no way is the fulfilment of this type to be sought in the ministers of the New Testament.*" ‡

It needs to be distinctly understood that the functions of the minister do not stand as a simple *delegation*, by the people, of their common priestly rights—a transference to one of what belongs to all. For, this universal priesthood being one of free spiritual approach to God through Christ, is not an *office at all*, but simply a common characteristic or

* 1 Pet. ii., 5, 9.

† Ch. Hist., p. 106.

‡ Loci. Vol. XII.; Loc. XXIV., p. 17. (Cotta's Ed.)

spiritual privilege of all Christians. The ministry being a *divinely instituted office* of teaching, and, in limited relation and measure, of government, must stand as something additional and peculiar. While for part of its assigned functions in public worship, *i. e.*, voicing the congregation's thanksgiving, prayers and praise, it is based upon or adjusted to the common priesthood, it is nevertheless a special divine calling for the regular and official preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, in the midst of the Church and for the evangelization of the world. But in the creation of this office of the ministry, God has given it, along with the means of grace, to the Church, to be recognized, maintained, filled and held in proper respect as a divine institution. And the proper call to it is mediated or given by the Church. This is distinctly in accordance with the order or usage of the primitive Church, as is witnessed to by the direction given in "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles:" "Now appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and upright and proved." * The only priesthood, however, which the minister exercises in public worship, is the priesthood which attaches to his *person* as a believer, and it is therefore only *leadership* in its associated use, not priestly character, that is derived from the Church. And the congregation by no means delegate or surrender *their* priestly right, or turn it over to him as a proxy, but they *use* their priesthood in conjunction with his use of his as their chosen leader. The Church identifies this leadership with the office of the Word and sacraments.

4. The truths thus recalled, taken together, lead directly and necessarily to certain conclusions that may stand as distinct corollaries to be specially remembered as marking the minister's relation to and in public worship.

(1.) The sanctuary function of the ministry is doubly representative. In the administration of the Word and sac-

* Chap. xv.

raments he represents God, appearing before the people as his "ambassador," officially speaking and acting in his name. In the conduct of the worship of faith, praise and prayer, he is representative, in the way of called leadership, of the believing congregation. In the first part he is acting upon his call of God to the office of public teaching or preaching of the Gospel, the call according to divine order being mediated and expressed through the voice of the Church; in the second relation he acts upon the election of the congregation. The Church thus unites the use and enjoyment of its own universal priesthood with God's office of dispensation of the Gospel and the sacraments. The proper and due combination of these two sides of a complete church service exhibits one important and vital feature of the minister's right relation in public worship.

(2.) The fundamental and most important part of this two-fold relation is that of administering the means of grace. This not only stands as the directly and divinely assigned function of the ministerial *office*, but is that part through the accomplishment of which the Holy Spirit *creates* the faith, love, praise, prayer and all the other feelings and acts that together constitute the holy "spiritual sacrifices" of true worship. The first part is conditional for the second. Yet if the means of grace are, or have been, permitted to be really efficacious, the second part of worship must also be present. It is essential to real worship. Preaching of the Gospel alone would not constitute a service of worship. It would only present a school of doctrine, an act of teaching, an academy of theology. Grand as is the office of public teaching or administration of the Word, it does not itself and alone form a congregation's worship. There is required yet the response of faith, thanksgiving and prayer. But as the means of grace are the condition and cause, under the Holy Spirit, of this response of the believing congregation, forming the whole into the service of worship, this side of the minister's activity is rightly

and necessarily given the fundamental and central place. The worship is gathered about and centred in the use of the means of grace.

(3.) Of the means of grace themselves, the minister must give the most prominent and ruling place to the preaching of the Word. This is the chief and transcendent service of his office, the particular thing that subordinates while uniting with itself all the other parts of his activity. The Lutheran orders of worship from the first justify the statement of Dr. Kurtz's Church History: "The preaching of the Word was made the central point of the whole public service." * This truth has, however, been sufficiently pointed out and emphasized, with proper indication of the grounds for it, in the chapter on the place of the Word in worship.

(4.) The minister's authority in the conduct of worship is limited by and adjusted to the rights of the congregation of believers. The *office* of the ministry, indeed, does unquestionably endow him with the full authority and all the rights which the Scriptures connect with the full and faithful administration of the Word, declaring the whole counsel of God whether men will hear or forbear, and keeping oversight over the house of God. This authority and these rights he is under solemn obligation to maintain and use, for the spiritual safety and edification of the Church and the salvation of souls. A high and sacred responsibility is involved in this maintenance and exercise of all the authority divinely given this office. But he is not to use it in the spirit of a "lord over God's heritage." "Be not ye called masters."

The very office of the ministry, symbolized by "the Keys," belongs to the Church, which also has obligations and responsibilities respecting it—to maintain it for its divinely appointed sphere. This sphere is not lordship, but service—to feed the flock and evangelize the world. To the whole body of believers belongs also the only priesthood

* Church Hist., Sec. 142, par. 2.

exercised in the services of the Christian sanctuary. The relation, therefore, confers upon the minister no arbitrary or exclusive power in the conduct of public worship. By very name the liturgical service is the "people's service." In it they are enjoying the ministrations of the office given the Church, and acting in the holy priesthood belonging to every member. And especially in the *adiaphora* of rites and ceremonies, the minister has no right to impose his will upon them.

This principle was recognized by Luther in the very beginning of his reformation of the old liturgy, in guarding the ministers who should use the orders of worship prepared by him from assuming to impose them as *law*, or in the way of compulsion. Elsewhere he says: "A bishop as a bishop has no right to impose any tradition or ceremony upon his church, *except by the consent of the Church*, either expressed or tacitly given. Because the Church is free and independent, and the bishops ought not to lord it over the faith of the Church, nor to oppress or burden it without its consent. They are ministers and stewards only, not lords of the Church. But if the Church consents as one body with the bishop, they may impose upon themselves what they will, meanwhile preserving godliness; or omit what they will. If the bishops do not seek this right, they wish to rule and keep all things under their will alone. This must not be allowed, nor are we in any sense to become partakers of this iniquity and injury or oppression of the Church and the truth." *

The Württemberg Confession (1553), composed by Brentz and the Strasburg theologians, and approved at Wittenberg, says: "We confess that it is permitted bishops, *with the consent of their churches*, to institute orders of festival days and lectures or sermons for edification and instruction in the true faith of Christ."

In accordance with these early scriptural rules, Schoeber-

* Luther's Letters, De Wette, Vol. IV., p. 106.

lein, in his *Der Evangelische Hauptgottesdienst*, well brings out the law of the minister's relation to the conduct of the worship: "The ordering and selection of the parts of worship dare not be left to the arbitrary choice of the minister, since worship is a service of the congregation. . . . In evangelical worship not the minister, but the *congregation* is the proper subject of the act, since it receives grace from the Lord and presents to him its offering. The minister occupies a mediating position in so far as he presents to the congregation in Word and sacrament the gifts of grace from the Lord and utters its prayers before him. But the evangelical congregation is to prove its priesthood in this, that it must not be merely passive, but is to respond to the reception of grace with thanks, and accompany and confirm its offering with its Amen." *

Mosheim declares: "The *congregation* has the right to appoint, to change, to improve ceremonies, that is, the right *circa adiaphora*, the right to determine the place of meeting, the holy seasons or festivals of the Church, the right to appoint means without which the divine worship cannot be conducted, as to install preachers, to appoint elders, to make Church orders." †

(5.) Not only are the congregations to be exempt from the arbitrary imposition of ceremonies, or from any infringement of their Scripture freedom, by pastors, but from such imposition or infringement by either secular or ecclesiastical power, through the pastors as instruments. The Church in its own sphere is a part of that kingdom which is "not of this world," and under the crown of Christ's dominion, and according to his Word, is to maintain its own autonomy against claims or attempts to prescribe either its doctrines or its cultus. And so far as rites and ceremonies or special forms of service are concerned, no synodical or other ecclesiastical authority can rightly exercise mandatory power. It cannot make any particular liturgical service

* P. 3.

† Kirchenrecht, p. 447.

obligatory on the congregations. Uniformity of human rites or ceremonies not being essential to the true unity of the church,* synods can make no *law* to enforce it on the churches. However desirable some persons may deem such uniformity, the freedom and rights of the congregations dare never be over-ridden in efforts to secure it.

This principle has been from the first made clear and vindicated in the Lutheran Church. It is plainly involved in the teaching of the *Formula Concordiæ* concerning adiaphoristic ceremonies and Church rites.† Luther writes: "Neither by *ecclesiastical* nor civil law, can we allow to bishops the right of *imposing* anything on the Church, even though it be lawful and pious, because evil is not to be done that good may result. But if they wish to compel it by violence we ought not to consent; but rather to die for the purpose of preserving the will and law of God against impiety and sacrilege." ‡

This assertion of the rights of the congregations, however, is by no means to be taken as approval of an arbitrary or unnecessary use of these rights against a fundamental and substantial uniformity, as aimed at the provision of general orders by the Church. Irregularity, willful gratification of congregational preferences and tastes, a factious disregard of appropriate and well-considered forms, is as little to be commended as the arbitrary imposition of such forms. While uniformity of ceremonies is not essential to the unity of the Church nor to salvation, ceremonies themselves are by no means a matter of indifference.

A truly spiritual order of service, centering the priestly worship of the congregation rightly about the means of grace, is a thing of ever-living importance to the Church and all her people. A free and happy fellowship in common forms is good and wholesome to piety, at the same time widening and expressing the communion of saints.

* Augs. Conf., Art. VII.

† Chap. x.

‡ Luther's Letters, De Wette, Vol. VI., p. 107.

Congregations, therefore, standing in fellowship with the general Church, owe a respectful and careful regard to the provisions which the Church makes for the ordering of public worship. While the minister, neither in his own right nor as an instrument of either secular or ecclesiastical power, dare arbitrarily impose forms of service, the congregations may and ought to use their freedom in harmony with the principles of general fellowship in worship, through the use of fundamentally and essentially common forms of service.

INDEX.

A.

- Abuses in worship, 159, 213.
 All Saints festival instituted, 64.
 Alt, on Roman Catholic worship, 114 ;
 on Formula Missæ, 183 ; on Luther-
 eran and Reformed differences, 281,
 284, on Luther, Zwingli, and Cal-
 vin, 296 ; on Pietism, 307.
 Altar, retained by Luther, 214.
 Ancient services, 166 ; corruption of,
 167.
 Andover Review quoted, 322.
 Apostolic Constitutions quoted, 49 ; on
 Church edifice, 50 ; liturgy of, 52 ;
 morning and evening service, 271.
 Art in worship, 27.
 Asceticism, beginning of, 44.
 Augsburg Confession, on human rites,
 15, 222.
 Austrian liturgy, 229.

B.

- Baden liturgy, 251.
 Basel, Church order of, 282.
 Bellarmin, on the Church, 345.
 Bishops in Apostolic Church, 38.
 Boniface VIII., bull *Unam Sanctam*,
 99.
 Brandenburg-Nuremberg litany trans-
 lated, 229.
 Burbidge on Gregorian Sacramentary,
 112.
 Butler, Bishop, quoted, 309.

C.

- Calvin, on worship, 279 ; sketch of,
 294 ; first order of service, 295 ;
 complete service, 295.
 Cardwell quoted, 300, 301.

- Catechism, Luther on, 189.
 Cathedrals of Middle Ages, 96.
 Chalcedon, decree of Council, 63.
 Chemnitz quoted, 335.
 Church discussed, 31-34 ; Apostolic,
 35-47 ; invisible, spiritual body, 36,
 348 ; simple organization of Apos-
 tolic, 36 ; Christian life in Apostolic,
 44 ; typical building in 4th century,
 50 ; false position in relation to sal-
 vation, 101 ; created by the Word,
 206 ; uniform ceremonies not neces-
 sary, 223 ; Roman Catholic view,
 344 ; Lutheran doctrine, 348 ; Re-
 formed doctrine, 350.
 Church Year discussed, 28, 323.
 Clausen quoted, 251.
 Clement, Epistle of, quoted, 43 ; liturgy
 of, 52-60 ; opposed to formality, 62.
 Collect explained, 258.
 Common Service, history and outline,
 317-321.
 Congregation, formation of, 32 ; preach-
 ing in, 146 ; Luther's order of wor-
 ship in, 159 ; active in worship, 358,
 359 ; power of, 359.
 Consecration of elements, 268.
 Constantine, bishop in externals, 49 ;
 worship in age of, 48 60.
 Constantinople, patriarch of, 63.
 Courland liturgy quoted, 218.
 Cranmer, 300, 302.
 Creed, The, explained, 261 ; Luther's
 version of, 262.
 Cyprian, on episcopal dignity, 48.

D.

- Distribution, The, manner of, 268.
 Doctrine in relation to worship, 61.

Dorner, on Protestant unity, 281; on difference between Lutheran and Reformed, 284; on German Puseyism, 313.

E.

Eastern Church, worship in, 61-95; Christian life in, 62.

Ecclesiasticism, tendency toward, 35.

Edward VI., 300; First Prayer Book of, 301; Second Prayer Book of, 302.

Elizabeth, Queen, a Protestant, 302.

Epictetus quoted, 10.

Epistle, The, explained, 259.

Evening worship, 161; service, 271-275.

Exhortation, The, explained, 266.

F.

Faith, unnecessary in Roman Church, 117; in evangelical worship, 146, 208; what it accomplishes, 277; the material principle, 328; necessary for grace, 337.

Festivals, what abolished and retained, 162, 164, 200, 211.

Formula of Concord, on ecclesiastical rites, 11, 15, 33, 222; Formula Missæ, 164-184; Kœstlin's judgment of, 183; Alt's, 183; Funk's, 202.

Funk, on Formula Missæ and German Mass, 202; on festivals, 211; development of Lutheran liturgies, 225; on the place of the sermon, 263.

G.

Gallican liturgy, 103.

Gerhard quoted, 348, 354.

German Mass, 184-201; Funk's judgment of, 201.

Gloria Patri, 257.

Gloria in Excelsis explained, 257.

God, how mind is led to idea of, 9.

Gospel, The, explained, 261.

Gregorian Mass, 113.

Gregory VII., on Roman power, 98.

Grob quoted, 292.

Guericke quoted, 354.

H.

Henry VIII., 299.

Hierarchical tendency in early Church, 48; in age of Constantine, 48, 49.

Hitchcock, Dr. R. D., quoted, 323.

Hymn, its character, 26; melody of, 27; of Middle Ages, 97; in the vernacular, 180; as *Zwischengesang*, 260; as *Predigtlied*, 264.

I.

Ignatius, reverence for bishop, 48.

Image worship introduced, 64.

Introits, Luther on, 168; explained, 256.

J.

Jacob, on worship in Apostolic Church, 39.

Jerome, Latin Vulgate, 100.

Justin Martyr, on Christian life of primitive Church, 44; description of worship in primitive Church, 45.

K.

Kahnis, on Mediæval Church, 101-103.

Kerr quoted, 322.

Kliefoth quoted, 10; his terms *sacramental* and *sacrificial*, 12, 343; criticised, 18; his estimate of Luther's order of worship in congregation, 163; worship not meritorious, 210; liturgies of Southern Germany, 242; quoted, 261; on place of the Creed, 261; tendency of, 313.

Knox, sketch of, 296; his liturgy, 297.

Kœstlin on Sacerdotalism of Eastern Church, 65; on Formula Missæ, 183; on true worship, 204; two kinds of worship, 216; on Lutheran worship, 220; list of liturgies, 224; subjective and objective elements common to Protestantism, 279; on Reformed Church, 283; on Prayer Book, 304; on dead orthodoxy, 306; on Pietism, 307; on Rationalism, 308.

Krauth quoted, 220.

Kurtz, on dead orthodoxy, 306; on Pietism, 308.
 Kyrie, retained by Luther, 168; explained, 257.

L.

Laity, in Apostolic Church, 38.
 Latimer, martyrdom of, 302.
 Leo the Great, asserts primacy, 63.
 Lightfoot quoted, 39.
 Liturgical forms non-essential, 15, 217; may be changed, 15, 33; should be simple, 15, 326; not injurious, 17; not an end in themselves, 17; criteria for judging, 17, 18; reference to unconverted, 19, 20, 186; influences multiplying, 29, 66; reflex influence of, 30; in Apostolic Church, 42; Christian liberty in, 174, 185; minister to order, 215, 218; recent movements and tendencies, 305-327; causes favoring, 322; influences opposed to elaborate, 326.
 Liturgy, of St. Clement, 52-60; five families of, 66; of St. Chrysostom, 68-95; dramatic character of Eastern, 67; liturgies of Western Church, 103; Gallican, 103; Mozarabic, 107; Ambrosian, 109; Petrine, 111; Roman, 111, 114; Courland quoted, 218; first Wittenberg quoted, 218; Saxon quoted, 218; different Lutheran types, 224; development of Lutheran, 224; Romanizing class, 226; Mark-Brandenburg translated, 227; Strasburg, 229; Austrian, 229; of Northern Germany, 230; Brandenburg-Nuremberg translated, 230; Saxon translated, 236; Brunswick, 239; Spangenberg, 239; Coburg, 241; Saxon (1664), 241; of Southern Germany, 241, 248; Swabian Hall, 244; Great Würtemberg translated, 245; Baden, 251; Worms, 251; Mecklenberg, 253; Ulm, 277; Zwingli's, 290-292; Calvin's, 294, 295; Knox's, 297; of Prayer Book,

303; of 16th century, 305; Prussian, 311; Normal Lutheran, 318; Common Service, 319; of the future, 326.

Löhe quoted and criticised, 23; on liturgies of Southern Germany, 242; on Lutheran liturgies, 250; on the Collect, 259; matins and vespers, 273; tendency of, 313.

Lord's Prayer, position of, 267, 305.

Lord's Supper, in Apostolic Church, 23; in Luther's order of divine worship, 162; in Formula Missæ, 171, 175; in German Mass, 195.

Luthardt quoted, 337-340.

Luther, on worship, 12; quoted, 20; on pericope, 21; on importance of preaching, 22, 146, 159, 162, 192, 204; on abolition of Jewish service, 37; a Roman priest, 143; in Rome, 143; attachment to papacy, 144; lectures on Scripture, 144; ninety-five theses, 145; on faith in worship, 147; condemns sacrifice of Mass, 149; letter to Chapter of All Saints Church, 153; three liturgical writings, 156; order of divine worship in the congregation, 159; Formula Missæ, 164-183; conservative tendency, 165; describes ancient service, 166, 167; on Christian liberty in forms of worship, 174, 185; on vestments, 175; German Mass, 184-201; favors languages, 187; special evangelical service, 188; Catechism in worship, 190; version of the Creed, 262.

Lutheran worship, scriptural, 146; necessity of faith, 147, 203; congregational, 149; Eucharist grace-bearing, 150; principles of, 203-222; preaching in, 204; distinguishes between human and divine ordinances, 207; described by Kœstlin, 220; forms of worship, 223-252; three types of, 224; analyzed and explained, 253-270.

M.

- Man, spiritual nature of, 9.
 Mark-Brandenburg liturgy Romanizing, 226; translated, 227.
 Mary, Queen, restores Catholicism, 302.
 Matins and vespers, 181; order of, 273.
 Mass, a sacrifice, 115, 203; canon of, 118; Luther on, 149, 151, 153, 154.
 Means of grace, 23, 205, 331, 333.
 Mecklenberg order, 253.
 Melancthon, on preaching, 22.
 Methodism, 309.
 Middle Ages, religious life in, 96; cathedrals in, 96; hymns of, 97.
 Ministry, in Apostolic Church, 37; why instituted, 277; in relation to worship, 344-361; Lutheran doctrine of, 352.
 Missal, The Roman, 120-142.
 Morning worship, 160; service, 271-275.
 Mosheim quoted, 51; on Church in 5th century, 63; in 8th century, 99; on rights of congregations, 359.
 Mozarabic liturgy, 107; influence on Prayer Book, 109.

N.

- Neale, on mystical interpretation of Eastern liturgies, 66; on the Mozarabic liturgy, 107.
 Neander, on the Church, 351.
 Ninety-five theses, 145.

O.

- Offertory in the Mass, 170.
 Order of divine worship in congregation, 159.
 Origen quoted, 61.
 Orthodoxy, effect of dead, on worship, 305.

P.

- Palmer, on Gallican liturgy, 105; liturgy of Würtemberg, 243; quoted, 249.

- Pericopes discussed, 20, 21, 327.
 Pietism, 307.
 Pliny, letter of, 45.
 Plitt, on the Word, 151.
 Post-communion, order of, 269.
 Prayer defined, 24; form of, 25.
 Prayer Book, of Edward VI., 300; Second Prayer Book, 302; its present form, 303; criticised, 304.
 Preaching, its place in worship, 22, 162, 192, 204, 264, 357; its neglect in Roman worship, 22, 116; testimony of Luther and Melancthon, 22; importance of, 159, 263. (See Scripture.)
 Preface, The, explained, 265.
 Priesthood of believers, 148, 280, 353; Christian and Roman, 148.
 Protestantism, Lutheran and Reformed, 276; agreement in, 281.
 Prussian liturgy, 311.
 Puseyism, 313.

R.

- Rationalism of 18th century, 308.
 Reformation, formal principle of, 146; four great principles of, 150; in England, 299; necessity of, 328.
 Reformed churches, worship in, 276-285; differ from Lutheran Church, 281-284; indifferent to ceremonies, 283; not opposed to liturgies, 283.
 Relic worship introduced, 64.
 Richter quoted, 9.
 Rites, ecclesiastical, not worship, 11; Augsburg Confession on, 15; Thirty-nine Articles on, 15; Formula of Concord on, 15; distinguished from divine ordinances, 207; adiaphorous, 217, 358; when observed, 219, 221; in Reformed Church, 280; not to be imposed, 358.
 Roman worship, 114 142; uniformity of, 114; Lord's Supper central in, 115; neglect of Scripture, 116, 203; congregation passive, 117, 118, 209; faith unnecessary, 117; unchangeable, 118; multiplication of works,

119; summary of, 119; missal, 120-142; abuses of, 159.
Rome, See of, claims primacy, 62.

S.

Sacerdotalism, 65, 98; effect on worship, 99.
Salutation, The, 258; in Eucharistic service, 264.
Sanctus, The, 265.
Sartorius quoted, 337, 342.
Schaff, on Mozarabic liturgy, 110; on Roman liturgy, 111.
Schleiermacher, influence of, 311.
Schoeberlein quoted, 358.
Scripture, what should be read in worship, 20; manner of reading, 21; Protestant doctrine of, 35; withdrawn from the people, 100; why neglected in Roman Church, 116; basis of evangelical worship, 146; given to the people, 151; chief thing in worship, 162, 192, 204, 328, 342; in Reformed worship, 279; in relation to other means of grace, 328-343; gives efficacy to sacraments, 336.
Sermon defined, 22; its place in worship, 22; falls into neglect, 65; its place in the liturgy, 263. (See Preaching.)
Singing, in worship, 26, 209.
Spener, 307.
Strasburg *Kirchenamt*, 229.
Synagogue service, 39.

T.

Teaching of Twelve Apostles on worship, 46.
Thirty-nine Articles on ceremonies, 15.
Tractarian movement, 315; exalts tradition, 315; Church a visible organization, 315; Apostolic succession, 316; *opus operatum*, 316; Romanizing, 316; tends to ritualism, 316.
Transubstantiation promulgated, 101; abhorred by the Reformers, 278.

U.

Ulfilas, Gothic version of Scriptures, 100.
Ulm, Church order of, 282.

V.

Vestments, Luther on, 175.
Vulgate, of Jerome, 100.

W.

Word, The. (See Scripture.)
Worship, an instinct, 9; origin of, in needs of soul, 10; effect of Christianity upon, 10; Kliefoth criticised, 11; nature of, 11, 147; ecclesiastical rites, 11, 207; two factors and their designations, 12; Luther on, 12; essentially spiritual, 13; outward, 13, 14; diversity of forms inevitable, 14, 15; forms may be changed, 15; forms should be simple, 16, 188, 216; not an end in themselves, 17; criteria for judging forms of, 17, 18; should have reference to unconverted, 19, 20; objective element of, 20; place of preaching in, 22, 160, 163, 192, 204; prayer discussed, 24, 25; singing in, 26, 27; time and place of worship, 27, 212; art in, 27; in Apostolic Church, 35-47; in spirit and truth, 41; aims at edification, 41; orderly, 42, 211, 212; in 2d century, 44, 47; in age of Constantine, 48-60; elaborate ceremonies, 51; sacrificial idea introduced, 51, 52; in 4th century, 52; in Eastern Church, 61-95; of images and relics, 64; effect of sacerdotal and sacrificial idea, 65; in Western Church, 96-113; centered in the Eucharist, 100; in Roman Catholic Church, 114-142; Lutheran Renovation of, 143-156; Luther's order of, in the congregation, 159; catechism in, 189; faith in, 208; should be congregational, 209; not meritorious, 210; in 18th century,

- 251; in Reformed churches, 276-285; effect of dead orthodoxy, 305; effect of Pietism, 307; of Rationalism, 308; of Methodism, 309; religious reaction in Germany, 310; Puseyism, 313-315.
- Western Church, worship in, 96-113; religious life, 96-100; errors of, 100-103.
- Word, in relation to Sacraments, 23, 328-343.
- Works, in Roman Church, 119.
- Worms liturgy, 251.
- Z.
- Zwingli, 286-294; provisory liturgy, 290; liturgy of Lord's Supper, 291; its revision, 293.



Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: August 2005

Preservation Technologies
A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATION

111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 625 649 1

